I seek not Yours but You.

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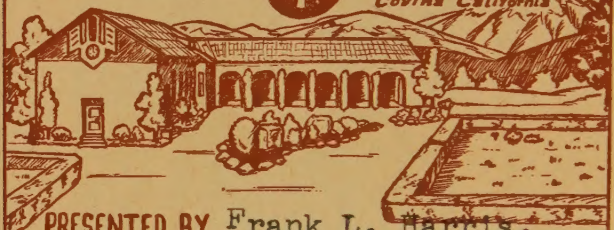
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Burmah's Great Missionary.
Life of Adoniram Judson.

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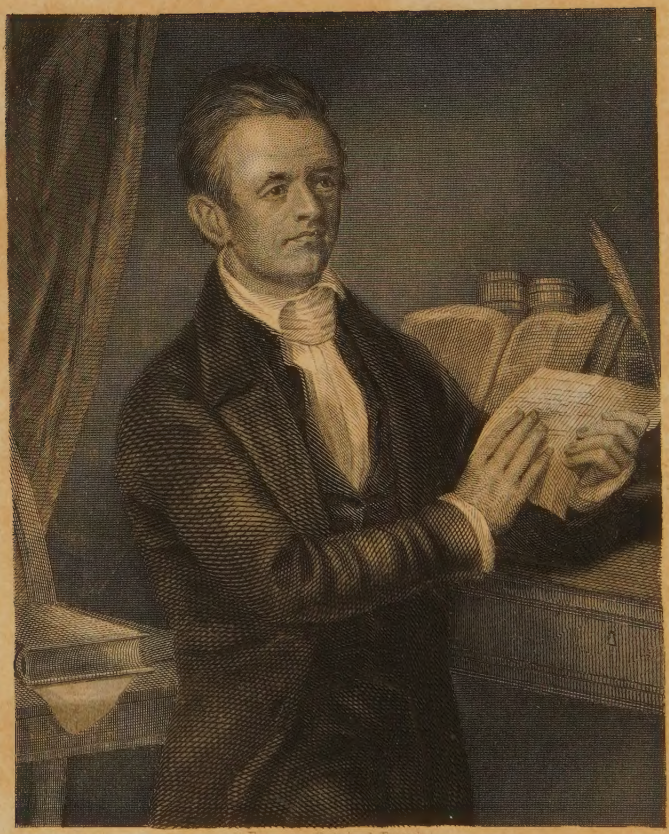

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THE LAST LEAF OF THE BURMAN BIBLE.

"May he make His own inspired Word, now complete in the Burman tongue, the grand instrument of filling all Burman with Songs of praise to our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ." *A. JUDSON.*

BURMAH'S GREAT MISSIONARY.

RECORDS

OF THE

LIFE,

CHARACTER, AND ACHIEVEMENTS

OF

ADONIRAM JUDSON.

NEW YORK:
EDWARD H. FLETCHER.
1854.

ENTERED, ACCORDING TO ACT OF CONGRESS, IN THE YEAR 1854, BY

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PREFACE.

The influences which flow from acquaintance with the history of great men's lives are powerful and abiding. Religious biographical literature is greatly appreciated by Christians of every name; nor can the general estimation in which it is held be deemed erroneous. It would be difficult to indicate any means, separate from its issues of the inspired volume, by which the press has done more efficient service in quickening spiritual life and promoting Christian usefulness. No man has fulfilled his course in latter times with whose life it could be more profitable for the churches of Christ to have a familiar knowledge, than that of the illustrious subject of these pages. Persuaded that such is the case, it seems an imperative duty to promote so worthy a service. This has been recognized by several eminent ministers, and in consequence various works have been published. Several years since, the Rev. Dr. Dowling issued

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a "Judson Offering," which has placed incidents of great interest before some thousands, and, it is to be hoped, with beneficial results in nurturing a missionary spirit. Since Mr. Judson's lamented decease, not only the commemorative discourses of the Rev. Drs. Hague and Babcock, but various other small works, have appeared. The Rev. Messrs. Eddy of Lowell, Gray of Shelburne Falls, and Gillette now of New York, have prepared interesting sketches; and at the time of our present writing, a small work by the Rev. Dr. Cushman is issuing from the press.

In addition to these, the Rev. Dr. Wayland has gathered together the journals and correspondence of Mr. Judson in two volumes, and presented a memoir which will doubtless long be regarded as an important contribution to the literature of missions.

Satisfied that there is a class of readers who will not be contented with the scanty information which the smaller works contain, while the larger one is beyond the means of very many, at a time when there was no intimation of any work of a similar scope, the one now presented was projected, and its preparation commenced.

In writing it, the author had no theories of his own to support. His object from first to last was

to make a work answerable to his title-page. As far as possible, he has incorporated Mr. Judson's own language. When contemplating this work, he chanced to read a review of the memoir of a missionary, published some years before, which remarked that while "ample use" is made of the writings of the worthy laborer it commemorates, "they are not, in the manner of some biographers, dragged in wholesale, as if eagerly grasped to fill up a page. Indeed, seldom is there more than a portion of a letter quoted."

These remarks will be found to apply to the present volume. To secure accuracy and completeness, much more time was occupied than was at first anticipated. Eminent ministers who have manifested a kind interest in its preparation have examined the proof sheets. In some cases these have been transmitted a considerable distance. Whatever delay has occurred, has tended to the production of a better work than could otherwise have been prepared.

Nothing has been omitted that appeared important to a complete history, while much will be found not otherwise readily accessible to the general reader. The admirable memoir of Ann H. Judson, by the late beloved Knowles, has been the basis of most of the later productions con-

cerning Burmah and its missions, and has been, in some cases, too servilely copied. It has proved a valuable auxiliary in the present instance, but its statements have been carefully examined, and where incorrect amended.

In accordance with the request Mr. Judson made on his friends in 1828, the title of Doctor has not been used.

The writer is conscious that his work falls far short of his own ideal of excellence, yet he hopes that it may render some service in perpetuating the memory of its subject, and promoting an interest in the cause to which his life was devoted.

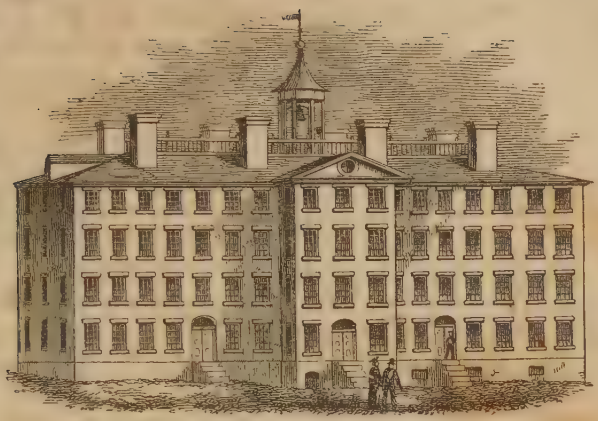
CONTENTS.

Chapter.		Page
I.	Childhood and Student Life	9
II.	The Missionary Candidate	21
III.	Realization	36
IV.	First Days in Asia	47
V.	Seeking a Country	58
VI.	The Appointed Field	71
VII.	The Consecration Tested	91
VIII.	Fruits of Truth and Despotism	121
IX.	Mingled Experiences	150
X.	Imprisonment	179
XI.	First Year of a New Era	211
XII.	Years of the Right Hand of God	233
XIII.	Life in the Jungle	280
XIV.	Study-Life	300
XV.	Afflictions and Labors	331
XVI.	The Furlough	354

CHAPTER.		PAGE
XVII.	Closing Toils	404
XVIII.	The Call Home	421
XIX.	Conclusion	434
	General Index	453

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Last Leaf of Burmah's Bible	FRONTISPIECE
Providence College	9
Map of Burmah	9
Zayat	71
Shway Dagon Pagoda	122
The Blood-Tracked March	199
Prome	257
Scene at the Convention	364
The Graves of the Judsons	429



BROWN UNIVERSITY.

Chapter First.

CHILDHOOD AND STUDENT LIFE.

"He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings."—Acts ix. 15.

THE records which the Holy Ghost has given us concerning good men who have fallen asleep, are not exempt from that skepticism which regards as mythical nearly all that relates to the illustrious of former times. A biography of one who felt himself called of God to diffuse a knowledge of the Gospel, and whose whole life presents a history of toil, trial, and triumph not less remarkable than, and often similar to, an apostolic experience, may be of great advantage in correcting this tendency. Such a work, also, if compiled from truthful sources, demonstrates the continued agency of the Spirit in the churches in the selection of men for great services, and the bestowal of eminent gifts and graces for the work to which He has appointed them. For these, and other important ends, ADONIRAM JUDSON is pre-eminently a study for the Christian world.

The birth-places of many who have shed luster on the American name are found in New England. Among the localities which have interests attaching to them on this account, is Malden, in the State of Massachusetts. It was here that he, whose memory we would aid in perpetuating, was born, August 9th, 1788.

Several of the most distinguished citizens of the Union in times past have been of clerical parentage. Such was the origin of the subject of these records, and his is therefore another name in which those engaged in the ministry of Divine truth may congratulate themselves, and more especially because of the character of the career which placed it in the galaxy of greatness.

At the period of the birth of our subject, his father, the Rev. Adoniram Judson, was pastor of a Congregational Church at Malden. He subsequently held a like office for a short time in Wenham, but his longest pastorate was at Plymouth. His connection with the Congregational denomination was dissolved in 1817 by his accession to the principles of the Baptist churches. In August of that year he was baptized, with his wife and daughter, by the Rev. Dr. Baldwin, and united in membership with the Second Baptist Church of Boston. Two years afterward he was requested to accept the pastorate of a newly formed church at Nobleboro', and was accordingly ordained there September 30th, 1819. Having attained a good old age, he was gathered to his fathers November 25th, 1826. As a scholar, an exemplary Christian, and an able minister of the New Testament, he was warmly eulogized by his cotemporaries.

Clerical nurture in New England in former times was characterized by some qualities which were not in all instances desirable. Of course there were exceptions,

but too frequently it had a tendency to the austere in principle and practice, which modern notions would discard. Although accustomed to dwell often on the total and universal depravity of our species, the puritan pastor was greatly astonished, if, in the conduct of his children, there was aught but Christian developments. His successors of a half a century since inherited a considerable share of his principles on the domestic constitution. In the engrossing cares and turmoil of the Revolutionary struggle many of the old-established customs were thrown out of course, but a minister's house was still expected to present an eminent model of the religious usages which in the estimation of our fathers were of such vital importance to the commonwealth. At this period the clerical order was beginning to realize the change of things, and the sacredness of their functions did not render them so secure from remark as their predecessors of early colonial times. Well aware of the circumspection to which they were subject, and the readiness of the community to reflect on the parental administration in case of any aberration from propriety, they were less tolerant of juvenile waywardness than, perhaps, with a due consideration of the tendencies of youth, befits a wholesome moral regulation.

It is probable that the system of household government at Malden and Plymouth partook of both the faults and excellences common to the New England parsonage in those times. Nevertheless a Christian mind will admire that allotment of Infinite Wisdom which gave to the early days of our subject such a home. The powerful, though often unconscious, influences of early life were undoubtedly favorable in giving to his mind an inclination for pursuits which was

of no small value in directing his career in after life. "Had young Judson passed the first dozen years of life beneath the roof of some decent, shrewd worldling, whose very soul was pervaded by the hallucination that gain is godliness or the chief good, who can calculate the divergence of his orbit from the one in which he has moved? The intensity and concentration of his forces, accompanied with keen, far-reaching discernment, might then have secured him a place among the millionaires of the commercial world."* As it was, his early associations were with pursuits of the mind, and his earliest aspirations most probably were of eminence attained by intellectual prowess.

There is reason to believe that the father was desirous that his son should attain distinction, and that this wish was allowed to engross more than usual thought. In what path it would have been most congenial to him for fame to have been earned we have no information. It is very probable that the discerning mind of an educated man formed just conclusions with regard to the future of the country he had seen so lately freed from foreign domination, and it is no wonder if parental ambition desired for the son to take a prominent place among the patriots who were to lead the States forward in their march of empire and glory.

These hopes of future distinction were encouraged by indications of good mental powers. While yet a child, Adoniram showed an eager desire for information, and a memory more than ordinarily retentive. The preceptor of his preparatory studies informed the Rev. Dr. Babcock, "while he was yet scarcely higher than the table, that he never witnessed with such joy,

* Dr. Babcock.

pride, wonder, the attainments of any other pupil." In these early promises it is not difficult for us to see that the seal of a prophet was already on his brow, and that he was marked of God for high and holy service.

When he was yet a child, the family moved to Wenham, and he was but fourteen years of age when Plymouth became his home. His residence being now on the spot where the Pilgrims made their first settlement, and the very Mecca of their descendants, the history of their right noble enterprise must have become as familiar to him as the faces of the loved ones in his father's parsonage. It is not likely that in his young days the defects of the early administration of the Pilgrims would impress him so unfavorably as when in after years he espoused the principles of those whom they had oppressed and persecuted. He had, therefore, the inspirations of the scene, without the drawbacks, which, it is probable, there would have been if his lot had been cast in a minister's family of another religious society. As it was, he saw the Pilgrim fathers with few flaws, and their tenacity of right and heroic endurance were of a character to captivate his ardent mind. Their spirit is one which

> Downward, as from sire to son it goes,
> By changing bosoms more intensely glows.

And in Adoniram Judson this fire did not lose its power. Through his whole life there is little doubt that when his thoughts reverted to *home*, Plymouth asserted, and received, a pre-eminence of affectionate remembrance.

Having had the advantage of such schools as the places where his father successively exercised his ministry afforded, he entered the college at Providence, since known as Brown University, a year in advance,

August 17th, 1804. He was consequently just sixteen years of age.

Thus far Mr. Judson's position might be called very favorable. It had, however, some tendencies not best for a young man. In no one are indications of talent so certain to be observed as in a minister's son, and no one has in general so wide a stage on which to exhibit his powers and win admiration. It will excite little surprise that our subject entered on his collegiate career on very good terms with himself, but his subsequent course, it must however be stated, was such that he did not suffer the dishonor which often befalls a youth who, from imbibing an idea that his mental powers are very superior in a small circle at home, learns in college life their mediocre character.

Mr. Judson went to Providence with the courage and the assurance of one who expected to gain great distinction. His course there showed his appreciation of the counsel of the great German:

> "Waver not to seize thy fore wish
> Where the many fear to clasp;
> Noble minds may all accomplish—
> They perceive, and promptly grasp."

In after life he described himself as being at this time "remarkable for active restlessness of mind and extreme gayety of disposition, a high relish for social life and fashionable amusements, all combined with an ardor of purpose and energy of pursuit that never tired."*

Naturally of a lively disposition, it is no wonder that so soon as he escaped from the quiet life of home to

* Sketch of Judson, by A. D. Gillette.

mingle with the throng of young men at Providence, that his predilections for society and amusement manifested their influence very unmistakably. Happily these were subordinate to his ambition. With the hope of distinction before him, he could not give himself to other pursuits, however attractive, with that reckless abandonment which is sometimes manifested by their votaries. Whenever he yielded to his inclinations, and mingled in society with his gay associates, he made up for lost time by subsequent diligence. He habitually acquitted himself in the recitations of his class with a degree of credit more than usual. He graduated in 1807, and in the assignment of parts for the commencement exercises he received the highest appointment. He left Providence with the kindest encomiums of the Faculty.

In the years which Mr. Judson spent at Providence, French infidelity was extremely popular. It is no wonder that with the general tendencies of young men to favor novel and extreme views, and when leading minds were entangled in its sophistical mazes, that it found many to welcome it in the colleges of the land. Not a few soon learned contempt for the Bible. Mr. Judson was of their number.

After leaving the University he returned as usual to Plymouth, and for nearly a year conducted a school; and while thus engaged he prepared and published an English Grammar, which, being submitted to Drs. Messer and Park, his late tutors, it was welcomed by them as a confirmation of their opinions of his talent and application, and received their warmest commendation. This is no mean proof of the estimation in which he was held; and in this early effort to elucidate the laws of language, it is not difficult for us to perceive

the evidence of his endowments for the service to which he was afterward called to devote so large a portion of his life. Another literary assay of the same year was the publication of a book of Arithmetic. In the fact of two such works having been prepared in less than a year from his leaving the University, we have no small proof of his capability for patient and earnest literary labor.

But while such were his literary qualifications for the work to which he was afterward called, his moral nature exhibited no preparation. He was amiable in character and behavior; but before this time, as already shown, he had imbibed infidel opinions, and as yet gave not more proof of being selected for the service of the Gospel than did Saul when persecuting to the death those who called on the name of the Saviour. But, like him, though as yet he knew it not, he had been separated in the counsels of God for important services, and the time was approaching when he was to be brought into the light of truth. He determined, about a year after graduating, on the close of his school, to spend some time in travel, or, to use the language natural to a young man, "to see the world." It has been said that at this time he had probably in view a permanent residence in the South. With the opinions his parents knew him to hold, this project occasioned them no small degree of solicitude, and when he bade them farewell, the tears of the mother and the grieved look of the father deeply impressed his mind. The recollections of parental kindness, and sacrifice, and desire rested upon him, and were the still small voices before which the foundations of his infidelity began to tremble. This journey was to be as memorable to young Judson as that of Paul to Damascus. Various circumstances occurred

to deepen the solemnity which rested on his spirit, but the most impressive was the death of a graduate of his own college, whose infidel opinions had greatly modeled his own, and the fear of whose raillery had made him the more unwilling to give the claims of Christianity a candid examination. This event is said to have occurred at a hotel in a village where Mr. Judson was spending the night under the same roof, without any knowledge of his proximity to his friend till he learned his decease. The impressions which he had hitherto been trying to efface gathered power from this circumstance. The fortress of infidelity seemed no longer capable of defense, and he determined to give the volume of revelation an investigation worthy its claims. With such a study traveling was incompatible, and besides this, his 'father's prayer at that morning hour of parting, and the silent tokens of a mother's holy yearning of soul,' returned upon him and impelled him to seek his home. Scarcely six weeks had passed from his setting out on his journey before he was found again at his father's house. His desire for adventure was suspended, and the faith of Christian friends began to believe that as the Lord is sometimes found of those that seek him not, he had met with him by the way, with the gracious purpose of revealing his mercy in him. It was not possible for one who had been endeavoring to bind the threads of sophistry around his mind, to disentangle himself without intellectual conviction. Accordingly, he proceeded to study the evidences of revealed religion, and it may be believed with an earnest desire to come to the knowledge of the truth.

In this critical period of his history an opportunity was afforded for him to enter the Theological Seminary then recently instituted at Andover. This school hav-

ing been founded for the training of young men for the ministry, it was of course required that all who shared its advantages should furnish evidences of the renewal of the Holy Ghost. But hope whispered predictions in the ears of two of its instructors, who providentially visited Plymouth at the time, and they suggested his going thither, being ready in his case to suspend the regulations. It is probable that a discovery of his abilities and attainments made them the more ready to adopt this course. Mr. Judson was scarcely prepared to accede to this proposal, and being indisposed to an inactive life, he repaired to Boston with view of resuming the profession of an instructor. But the Divine purposes of mercy were neither to be thwarted nor delayed in their accomplishment. Conscience was now to be so enlightened and quickened that all minor interests were to give way to an absorbing concern for his spiritual well-being. The agency employed for this important end was the work of a celebrated Scotch divine generally known as "Boston's Fourfold State." With this treatise he appears to have come in contact immediately on his arrival in Boston. Sufficient time had not elapsed to admit of any considerable progress in his investigations, and consequently his former difficulties still remained. In the state of mind to which he was brought there was no hope of rest till these were removed. The Andover proposition seemed to present an opportunity of investigation under such favorable auspices, and so intense was his concern that he determined to avail himself of its advantages. Ever prompt in executing his purposes, he made immediate application. There was but an interval of twenty days from the date of his return to Plymouth to that of his admission to the institution. This latter event occurred

Oct. 12th, 1808. He was not entered as a full member of the institution, but was allowed and encouraged to receive instruction with the other students.

As we contemplate the motives which led Mr. Judson to this learned retreat, the mind traces a likeness in his case to that of those who in by-gone ages betook themselves to monasteries to find peace for their souls. But if in accepting the hopes which Andover presented he resembled the subjects whom monastic chroniclers have sometimes depicted, it was happily his privilege to have truer light and abler guides.

Many excellent persons would scarcely have been prepared to adopt the judicious measures which the professors used. Many would frown on skepticism, and drive its unhappy victim as far from Christian society as it leads him from Christian hope. It was Mr. Judson's privilege to find those who commiserated his case, treated his difficulties with forbearance, and sought to lead him to the Saviour. Their benevolent sympathies and considerate counsels were rewarded. In a short time he was enabled to receive the truth as in Jesus, and to rejoice in him as all his salvation and all his desire.

The object which led him to Andover was now attained; nevertheless he still lingered in the seminary, and was diligent in the acquisition of theological lore. With his conversion he seems to have formed at once the purpose of becoming fitted to teach others the truths which had brought peace to his own soul, and he became a member of the seminary for that end. He made a public profession late in the spring of the following year, when he united with the church in Plymouth, of which his father was pastor. That so long a time as six months elapsed from his conversion to this

event is probably owing to a natural desire to join the church at home. It is likely that he embraced the earliest opportunity which his attendance at the seminary permitted.

His attainments were of such a character that in the seminary he united with the class of the second year. After his conversion no noteworthy event occurred during the term. In the acquisition of a sound theological education the counsels of God were tending to their accomplishment, and in due time a sphere of Christian labor was to be disclosed to his vision, the claims and importance of which were yet scarcely perceived by those who were in Christ before him.

Chapter Second.

THE MISSIONARY CANDIDATE.

'But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood.'—GALATIANS i. 15, 16.

MR. JUDSON entered on his second and last year of theological study at Andover before forming any purpose as to the field of his anticipated ministry. Indeed, at that time, so little regard was given to missions to the heathen, as a practical enterprise of Christian philanthropy, that, without a messenger like the Macedonian phantom, the generality of young men who contemplated preaching the gospel would scarcely have had a thought of any other field of labor than that which their own country presented.

In this last year of student life, just as prospects the most honorable and inviting were opening before him, the celebrated discourse of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D., entitled the "Star in the East," fell in his way. The effects which sprung from his making acquaintance with this production are thus represented by himself: "For some days I was unable to attend to the studies of my class, and spent my time in considering my past stupidity, depicting the most romantic scenes in missionary life, and roving about the college rooms, declaiming on the subject of missions. My views were very incorrect, and my feelings extravagant; but yet

I have always felt thankful to God for bringing me into that state of excitement, which was perhaps necessary, in the first instance, to enable me to break the strong attachment I felt to home and country, and to endure the thought of abandoning all my wonted pursuits and animating prospects. That excitement soon passed away; but it left a strong desire to prosecute my inquiries, and ascertain the path of duty."

Mr. Judson was inclined, from the time of his first reading Buchanan's sermon, to devote himself to the missionary work. "It imparted," as Dr. Hague has well said, "to his deep and indefinite longings a practical aim, and seemed like the voice of God summoning him to his field of action." Mr. Mills thus mentions him, in correspondence with Gordon Hall, as early as December 20th, 1809, which was two months after his acquaintance with Buchanan's production: "With regard to Andover, two of the brethren are there; I think it likely I shall go there myself soon, or within four or five weeks. I heard previously of Mr. Judson. You say he thinks of offering himself as a missionary to the London Society, for the East Indies." Not, however, till some five months after reading the "Star in the East" did he come to an irrevocable determination to yield himself to God for this great work. "It was during a solitary walk in the woods behind the college, while meditating and praying on the subject, and feeling half inclined to give it up, that the command of Christ, 'Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,' was presented to my mind with such clearness and power, that I came to a full decision, and though great difficulties appeared in my way, resolved to obey the command at all events."

This final determination was shortly after communi-

cated to the relatives of Mr. Judson at Plymouth. They were previously aware that he contemplated devoting himself to a mission to the heathen somewhere in the East. It is believed that they made little if any opposition to his purpose, but it was no common sacrifice to either party. As already shown, Mr. Judson regarded his first excitement on this subject as mercifully permitted of God to enable him to break his "strong attachments" for kindred and country. The regard of the Judson family for each other was undoubtedly more than ordinary. The desire and hope of the household had been to see Adoniram occupy a position of eminence at home, which would not only have enabled them to hold frequent intercourse with him, but to behold and be identified with the honors which it seemed certain awaited him. The prospects before him he himself characterized as "animating;" but the obligation of going to the Gentiles he could not escape from, and he determined that no earthly voices should hold him back. His purpose demanded not only the crucifixion of the unholy, but of the purest affections of his soul, and he cheerfully submitted.

Being now satisfied as to the path of duty for himself, Mr. Judson was desirous of knowing who of his companions in study were prepared to make a like consecration. Of the readiness of some he was soon assured. Previous even to his consideration of the subject, Samuel J. Mills, Ezra Fisk, James Richards, John Seward, and Luther Rice had associated themselves together at Williams College, with a view to missionary work when their course of theological studies should be completed. The object of this society, the constituents of which adopted the appellation of "Brethren," was to "effect in the persons of its members a mission

or missions to the heathen." In forming this society these young men were chiefly prompted by concern for the Indian population of our own continent. The constitution bears date September 7, 1808. Secrecy was one of its articles, and no one was admitted to membership without being laid under affirmation: "You solemnly promise to keep *inviolably secret* the existence of this society." In order further to assure this, the constitution and minutes were kept in cypher.* The reason of this studied privacy may be ascribed to the modesty of the originators, and a belief that the sentiment of the churches was not advanced enough for such an enterprise as they contemplated. Some of the members of this society, after graduating at Williamstown, repaired to Andover to study theology. Mr. Judson was already considering the subject when the first of these arrived, and it is probable, though their interests with regard to missions could not be concealed, that he did not know of the existence of the society at Williams College for some little time. Indeed, he states that for several months after reading Buchanan he found none among the students who viewed the subject as he did. Mr. Mills, in his letter of December 20th, as already seen, expected to go to Andover "soon, or within four or five weeks." Mr. Judson's decision was made early in February. It is probable that they did not meet till after this period. With regard to his companions, in contemplating this work, Mr. Judson has left the following record:

"My earliest missionary associate was Nott; who, though he had recently entered the seminary (in the

* A fac-simile of the cyphers employed may be found in Pearson's Missionary Memorial.

early part of 1810), was a member of the same class with myself. He had considered the subject for several months, but had not fully made up his mind. About the same time, Mills, Richards, and others joined the seminary from Williams College, where they had for some time been in the habit of meeting for prayer and conversation on the subject of missions; but they entered the junior class, and had several years of theological study before them."

Of those who were then in connection with the seminary, Messrs. Rice and Newell afterward joined this company.

Another, who proved in his day a "bright and shining light," Gordon Hall, became of the number through Mr. Judson, who, having learned that he had once thought favorably of missions, wrote him a short letter. Mr. Hall had just received a call to settle in Woodbury, Connecticut, and was deliberating whether it was his duty to accept it or not, when the letter was put into his hand. The next rising sun saw him on the way to Andover; and discovering that there was hope that his desire to engage in missionary work might perhaps soon be gratified, he resolved not to settle in "any parish in Christendom."

The fact that several had been brought without concert or knowledge to consider the subject, Mr. Judson regarded as manifestly betokening that the movement was of God. More than a quarter of a century afterward he wrote: "I have ever thought that the providence of God was conspicuously manifested in bringing us all together from different and distant parts. Some of us had been considering the subject of missions for a long time, and some but recently. Some, and indeed the greater part, had thought chiefly of

domestic missions and efforts among the neighboring tribes of Indians, without contemplating abandonment of country and devotement for life. The reading and reflection of others had led them in a different way; and when we all met at the same seminary, and came to a mutual understanding on the ground of *foreign* missions and *missions for life*, the subject assumed in our minds such an overwhelming importance and awful solemnity, as bound us to one another and to our purpose more firmly than ever. How evident it is that the Spirit of God had been operating in different places and upon different individuals, preparing the way for those movements which have since pervaded the American churches, and will continue to increase until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Anointed!"

Being assured of companionship in his pursuit, Mr. Judson's attention was at once engrossed with a new question. Hitherto his mind had been occupied concerning the heathen, "How shall they hear without a preacher?" The decision of himself and his associates was that they should have *some* preachers. The question now lifted itself before them—"How shall they preach except they be sent?" This they were not able of themselves to solve. To find those who would send them to the heathen was no easy task. To those of us who live now, a missionary candidate is happily not rare, and it is difficult for us to realize the wonderment which was caused many of our fathers when it was announced that these young men contemplated missionary work. Fulton's steamboat, in which a year and a half before Mr. Judson had traveled from New York to Albany, scarcely awakened more curious inquiries than the news which at this time went forth concern-

ing himself and his associates. At that time there was no organization in the United States for such an enterprise as these young men contemplated. The Baptists of England had been honored of God in commencing a missionary society in 1792; and their example was followed some time after by Congregationalists and members of other evangelical churches, in founding what is generally known as the "London Missionary Society," and these had been followed by members of the Church of England in another organization. There was no doubt considerable interest on the subject of missions in the American churches, and large pecuniary contributions had been made in some instances in aid of the English missions, yet, as Mr. Cutting observes, the "whole subject rested vaguely in the minds of most Christians in this country, and there was no organization in existence here under whose patronage a missionary could be sent abroad. The foundations of that vast and comprehensive enterprise which, resting upon the prayers and contributions of the churches and on the promises of God, has sent forth many hundreds of missionaries to distant lands, and embraces under its protection and spiritual guidance many thousands of converts, were yet to be laid."

Having made his resolve to prosecute his ministry for God where he was to have neither the stare of the vulgar nor the smiles of the *élite* to urge him forward, Mr. Judson's independence of human judgment with regard to the subject was soon manifest. Undoubtedly before all others of his class in making a decision, he was the very first to seek the realization of the object, by public endeavors to find the means of reaching a field of labor and being supported there. The movement which others had been seeking to forward "in

silence and in fear," he prosecuted avowedly. No Barnabas came to Andover to seek the young men for such spheres of usefulness as they contemplated, and therefore he gave himself to a search for those who might be found willing to take the responsibilities which led this early servant of Christ to Tarsus. In this he was far from being as successful as he desired, and finding no minister in Andover or its neighborhood who as yet was prepared to take an active part in forwarding the object, he sought to discover some ray of hope elsewhere. Such he believed existed in the London Missionary Society; and, April 23, 1810, he wrote to England, on behalf of himself and brethren, to know if there was a probability of that society taking them under its patronage if they should repair to the British metropolis on that errand.

But, though the prospect appeared discouraging, yet God was leading eminent ministers and laymen to appreciate the importance of the subject, and they were beginning to perceive the duty of the churches to send American laborers into the field. After Mr. Judson had written on the subject to England, the question received more attention, and the sky of himself and his associates assumed a brightened aspect. According to a previous arrangement, the Rev. Dr. Spring, of Newburyport, and the Rev. Mr. Worcester, of Salem, with a few others, convened for consultation at the house of Professor Stuart, at Andover, June 25th, 1810. This meeting was characterized by serious deliberation and fervent prayer. It was felt that the time had come when foreign missions must be prosecuted. The question was regarded of such importance that it was deemed advisable to bring it before the General Association of Massachusetts, which was appointed to

meet the same week. With a view to this, at the instance of Dr. Spring and Mr. Worcester, Mr. Judson prepared a memorial submitting the case of himself and brethren to that body.* It reads as follows:

The undersigned, members of the Divinity College, respectfully request the attention of their Reverend Fathers, convened in the General Association at Bradford, to the following statement and inquiries:

They beg leave to state that their minds have been long impressed with the duty and importance of personally attempting a mission to the heathen; that the impressions on their minds have induced a serious, and, as they trust, a prayerful consideration of the subject in its various attitudes, particularly in relation to the probable success and the difficulties attending such an attempt; and that, after examining all the information which they can obtain, *they consider themselves as devoted to this work for life*, whenever God, in his providence, shall open the way.

They now offer the following inquiries, on which they solicit the opinion and advice of this association: Whether, with their present views and feelings, they ought to renounce the object of missions, as either visionary or impracticable; if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the Eastern or the Western World; whether they may expect patronage and support from a missionary society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European so-

* In a paper in the "American Missionary Memorial," which has recalled to the writer's mind some interesting facts, Dr. S. M. Worcester says, "Advice was given to *Mills* and his associates," etc. None would desire to diminish the respect which is cherished for this noble spirit, but yet it should be borne in mind that those who were ready immediately to engage in missionary work were Messrs. Judson, Newell, and Nott. Mr. Mills was in the *junior* class, and was the only one of that class whose signature was permitted to appear. It is to be regretted that denominational partialities should so often have influenced writers to place the name of some one or other of the first missionaries who retained their original ecclesiastical relations in prominence, when every official document of the times which we have seen has the name of Judson first. In the articles which appear in this valuable publication, from Presbyterian and Congregational writers, it is remarkable that by no accident does Mr. Judson's name have precedence in the list.

ciety; and what preparatory measures they ought to take, previous to actual engagement?

The undersigned, feeling their youth and inexperience, look up to their fathers in the Church, and respectfully solicit their advice, direction, and prayers.

(Signed) ADONIRAM JUDSON, JR.
SAMUEL NOTT, JR.
SAMUEL J. MILLS.
SAMUEL NEWELL.

Two other names—those of James Richards and Luther Rice—were originally appended to this document, but were not allowed to appear when it was presented to the association; it being suggested by Dr. Spring that so large a number as six might alarm that body!*

After the presentation of the memorial, Mr. Judson and his associates were invited severally to make a statement of their motives and views on the question. One by one they arose, and, with the earnestness of young men in pursuit of a cherished purpose, at this time conjoined with the "boldness" which the Divine

* Dr. S. M. Worcester says, "The name of James Richards was withheld from the paper and even that of *Gordon Hall*." There is reason to believe that Mr. Hall did not come to Andover till about the time of the meeting of the Association at Bradford. After receiving Mr. Judson's letter, he went there to inquire about the subject, and then declined his call to Woodbury. It is doubtful whether his name could have been appended to a document from "*members* of the Divinity College." Mr. Judson, in his letter to Mr. Rice in 1837, wrote concerning Mr. Hall as follows:

"I think that he arrived about the time of the meeting of the General Association of Ministers at Bradford, in the summer of 1810. I do not, however, recollect him present at that meeting, nor was his name attached to the paper which we presented to the association, and which was originally signed by Nott, Newell, Mills, Rice, Richards, and myself, though, at the suggestion of Dr. Spring, your name and Richards', which happened to stand last, were struck off, for fear of alarming the association with too large a number."

Of Luther Rice, Dr. Worcester seems altogether oblivious.

Spirit communicates to those who are obeying His voice, they pleaded the cause of the heathen, and proclaimed their own earnest longings to engage in labors for their evangelization. Seldom has there been a scene of more important moral significance, than the meeting-house in Bradford presented when these young men urged their suit before the representatives of the churches.

The memorial was referred to a committee of three, consisting of Dr. Spring and Messrs. Worcester and Hale. The young men were then dismissed to return to Andover. They had made "a good profession before many witnesses," and we may suppose they took their way homeward with gratitude to God that they had been permitted the privilege.

Mr. Judson and his associates cherished the hope that immediate measures would be adopted. But they were called to exercise long patience. The General Association, on the recommendation of their committee, proceeded to institute a "Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for the purpose of devising ways and means, and adopting and prosecuting measures for promoting the spread of the Gospel in heathen lands." This was all they were then prepared to do, and they therefore voted: "That, fervently commending them to the grace of God, we advise the young gentlemen, whose request is before us, in the way of earnest prayer and diligent attention to suitable studies and means of information, and putting themselves under the patronage and direction of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, humbly to wait the openings and guidance of Providence in respect to their great and excellent design." The first meeting of this board was appointed to be held in the following September.

Mr. Judson was called to a great work, for which he had been prepared both by nature and grace, and therefore could not find much satisfaction in labors in the vineyard at home; but he felt it imperative at this time to follow the advice of the Association. Having been licensed by one of the New England Associations, while he remained at Andover, he preached often in neighboring towns. In this practice he continued when in the United States, till his embarkation for Asia. On one occasion, after his missionary plans were formed, it is said that he visited Dartmouth College, and was invited to preach on the Lord's day at Hanover. A very bitter Universalist was among the congregation, who thus expressed himself on the following day: "I pitied that young man when I saw him enter the pulpit in the morning, but before he came down I pitied myself." At this time there is no doubt that his pulpit efforts left frequently a solemn impression. His intellect was remarkable; his advantages of qualifying himself had been of the first order and diligently improved; and, at the same time, his mind was occupied with considerations of the momentous interests of eternity. At this period it was usual with him to deliver his discourses without notes. His elocution was greatly admired. In view of this combination of intellect, knowledge, feeling, and delivery, we are justified in remarking that it is not likely that many young men, fresh from a seminary, would be equal to Mr. Judson in power to interest a congregation.

September came, and the board organized and gave the "young gentlemen at Andover" the good advice to prepare their studies till further information relative to the missionary field could be obtained, and the finances

of the institution would justify their appointment. After giving this counsel, however, they began to seek funds from the churches, which was at least indicative of a movement forward.

The Prudential Committee appointed by the board were shortly after impressed with the expediency of sending some one to England, that they might learn whether it was feasible to form a union with the London Missionary Society. With the prominence always given Mr. Judson, he was selected for this errand. An extract from the instructions of the committee, given by the secretary, the Rev. Samuel Worcester, will more fully and best explain the object of this embassy: "A principal object of your attention will be to ascertain, as distinctly as possible, whether any and what arrangements can be made for a concert of measures, in relation to missions, between the American Board of Commissioners and the London Missionary Society; particularly whether, if circumstances should render it desirable, you and your brethren can be supported in missionary service for any time by the London funds, without committing yourselves wholly and finally to the direction of the London society; or whether it may be in any case consistent for the mission to be supported partly by them and partly by us; and if so, under whose direction it must be held. On these points you will possess yourself of the views of the directors of the London society, and receive their propositions for our consideration. You will also, during your stay in England, avail yourself of your opportunities and advantages for obtaining ample and correct information relating to missionary fields, the requisite preparations for missionary services, the most eligible methods of executing missions, and generally

to whatever may be conducive to the missionary interest; and the most important parts of such information as you may obtain you will commit to writing for the use of the American Board."

Previous to this time, Mr. Judson had corresponded with the Rev. Dr. Burder, the secretary of the London Missionary Society, and also with the Rev. Dr. Bogue, the principal of the seminary then connected with the institution at Gosport. In the beginning of January, 1811, he sailed in the "packet" bound for London, bearing with him a lengthy communication declaratory of the views of the Prudential Committee, intended to be submitted to the Directors of the London Missionary Society. A concluding paragraph of this communication will perhaps cause a smile: "It may not be improper to state, that some of these young men propose to take wives with them to the missionary field. If this meet the approbation of your board, as we are not unapprised of the laudable care which you take in regard to the character, not only of your missionaries themselves, but also of their wives, we shall certainly consider it important that similar care be taken here."

Mr. Judson left his native land full of high hopes. But now, when he seemed about to realize his desires, he was to have an opportunity to reconsider his purpose, and if his views were "incorrect," or any feelings of an "extravagant" character remained, he was to have an opportunity to form more just and chastened ideas. At the time the voyage was undertaken, war was prevailing between France and England, and on the voyage the vessel was captured by a French privateer. There was nothing which indicated that he was an American, and he, of course, shared in the privations and sufferings of the crew and English passengers;

but afterward his origin was known, and he received better treatment. The privateer took her passengers to Bayonne. The influence of an American gentleman procured his release from the prison on parole, and after several weeks a passport was obtained from the emperor, and, though the war between the two countries rendered communication very difficult, he reached the English shores four months after leaving the United States.

Mr. Judson proceeded to a prompt execution of the duties assigned him, by visiting Dr. Burder and securing the attention of the directors to his communications and testimonials. As a consequence of the representations he was able to make, the directors resolved to accept him as their missionary, and joined with his name those of his associates, Messrs. Newell, Nott, and Hall. This appointment was made with the understanding that they should be employed in forming a new station for missionary exertions, rather than be separated from each other among the several stations already occupied by the society.

In receiving them as missionaries, the directors declined any union with the American Board. It may be supposed that the chief reason was the embarrassment which they saw must necessarily arise if they had to wait the results of communications with parties on the other side of the Atlantic before adopting measures which they might deem expedient.

The object of Mr. Judson's visit to England being in great measure attained, he determined to return to the United States, and sailed for New York in the middle of June.

Chapter Third.

REALIZATION.

"Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ."—EPHESIANS iii. 8.

THE second meeting of the American Board was held at Worcester, September 18th, 1811, about a month after Mr. Judson's return to the United States. At this meeting the Prudential Committee announced that they had learned from him that "the London directors are of opinion that a joint conduct of missions will not be practicable, and that, although they are ready to receive our young brethren under their patronage, and would gladly have aid from us in respect to their support, yet they do not think it consistent to admit this board to a participation with them in the direction of the mission."

Such being the aspect of the case, it was evident that the board must either yield at once all claim on the young men, or proceed to found missions of its own. Its members preferred the latter alternative, and voted to "retain under their care the young gentlemen who last year devoted themselves to the service of God for life, as missionaries in foreign parts."

Though not prepared to surrender its charge of the young men, they were far from being ready to assume immediately the responsibility which their action anticipated; and on the second day a vote was passed:

"That this board do not advise Messrs. Adoniram Judson, Jr. and Samuel Nott, Jr., to place themselves *at present* under the direction of the London Missionary Society, but *to wait the further intimations of Providence* relative to our means of furnishing them with the requisite support in the proposed foreign mission."

It is probable that to the young men this advice sounded too much like that given the previous year. There is reason to believe that Mr. Judson gave plain intimation that such counsel was not very acceptable. Nor is it to be wondered at; for, in advising them not to place themselves "at present" under the care of the London Society, it seems that it was thought that such a course might yet be necessary. No one could guarantee that, while waiting for the board in America to deliberate and prosecute its inquiries, the door which Providence had shown them in England would continue open. It was very certain that if the board did not obtain an infusion of self-reliance and courage beyond what had previously been apparent, that the young men might remain in the United States for a long time. With the opening in London, they were indisposed to delay. Be this as it may, the board seems to have come to the conclusion, before the second day closed, that its hesitating and timid councils must be abandoned, and in the end we have the record of the adoption of a more worthy course: "Messrs. Adoniram Judson, Jr., Samuel Nott, Jr., Samuel Newell, and Gordon Hall were appointed missionaries to labor under the direction of this board in Asia, either in the Burman empire, or in Surat, or in Prince of Wales Island, or elsewhere, as, in the view of the Prudential Committee, Providence shall open the most favorable door."

To the view of the board, Burmah presented the most eligible opening for extensive labor which could be found in any country in the East, not subject to the East India Company of Great Britain. As a sphere of missionary labor it had occupied Mr. Judson's attention more than any other, he having become greatly interested in it from studying the gorgeous descriptions furnished in Colonel Symes' "Embassy to Ava." Two other important fields were named by the board, and, though these were widely separate, it was enough for Mr. Judson that they were in the East, were thickly populated with idolaters, and in going to either of them he would have an opportunity of complying with the last command of his Lord.

With the commencement of 1812, he began to take the final steps for his departure from the land of his nativity. The selection of a companion for life, whose spirit should be congenial to his own, was a matter which had occasioned him much thought and prayer. While at Bradford, in 1810, on the occasion of his attending the meeting of the Association, which took the initial action on the missionary question, he was introduced to Miss Ann Hasseltine, and from that time cultivated acquaintance with her by visits and correspondence. Before the close of the year, his first impressions of her eminent fitness, not only to minister to his own comfort in his work, but to bear an honorable part in its prosecution, were so strongly confirmed that he made her an offer of marriage, including, of course, the proposition for her to accompany him to his field of labor. In this step he observed the honorable courtesy of life, and, by letter, sought the approval of Mr. John Hasseltine, her father. After announcing the fact of the offer of marriage, he addresses him as

follows: "I have now to ask whether you can consent to part with your daughter early next spring, to see her no more in this world; whether you can consent to her departure for a heathen land, and her subjection to the hardships and sufferings of a missionary life; whether you can consent to her exposure to the dangers of the ocean; to the fatal influence of the sultry clime of India; to every kind of want and distress, to degradation, insult, persecution, and perhaps a violent death. Can you consent to all this, for the sake of Him who left his heavenly home, and died for her and for you; for the sake of perishing immortal souls; for the sake of Zion, and the glory of God? Can you consent to all this, in hope of soon meeting your daughter in the world of glory, with a crown of righteousness, brightened by the acclamations of praise which shall redound to her Saviour from heathens saved, through her means, from eternal wo and despair?"

The idea of being a missionary to the heathen was entirely new to an American woman; but the entries in the diary and correspondence of Miss Hasseltine prove that good sense and piety directed her decision on this then novel question. The marriage which bound them together for the arduous toil of a missionary field, took place at Bradford, February 5th, 1810. Mrs. Judson had lately completed her twenty-second year.

The next day, February 6th, is memorable as being the day of ordination of the first American missionaries for foreign work. The council convened in the Tabernacle Church, at Salem. It included among its delegates the Rev. Samuel Spring, D.D., of Newburyport, the Rev. Jedediah Morse, D.D., of Charlestown, the Rev. Edward D. Griffin, D.D., of Boston, the Rev.

Professor Leonard Woods, D.D., of Andover, and the Rev. Mr. Worcester, pastor of the church in whose venerable edifice the council assembled. Before this council Mr. Judson and his associates, Samuel Newell, Samuel Nott, Gordon Hall, and Luther Rice, severally gave an account of their views of doctrine, their personal hopes of the Divine favor, and their motives and prospects in offering themselves to the important service of a mission to the heathen world.

The council resolved to separate the young men to the work to which they believed they were called by the Holy Ghost, and proceeded to ordain them the same day.

The services of the occasion attracted a vast concourse of people. The snow-covered streets of the old town of Salem were well beaten by foot travel, and especially might this be marked in the vicinity of the Tabernacle. In the crowded assemblage present within were men whose praises were in all the churches, and young students from Andover, who had gladly sought an opportunity to be there, and who, at night, when over thirty miles of pedestrian toil had been accomplished, deemed themselves most especially favored to have been in Salem that day. The attendance showed that there were many who felt the sentiment uttered by Dr. Spring in his charge: "No enterprise comparable to this has been embraced by the American Church. All others retire before it, like the stars before the rising sun."

In the services of the occasion, Dr. Griffin offered the introductory prayer. Dr. Woods preached the sermon. The prayer of ordination was offered by Dr. Morse, and the charge given, as intimated above, by Dr. Spring. The account of these services is familiar in

the American churches; and, with the memorials which we possess, we may agree with the opinion which Dr. Asa Smith has felicitously expressed: "Never, perhaps, were ordination services in more perfect keeping with the occasion. Nothing was commonplace—nothing merely perfunctory. Every thing had an air of conscientiousness, directness, and earnestness, indicating most clearly a deep sense of the seriousness and magnitude of the work in hand."

As a result of the proceedings of that day, many who had only looked to their own salvation, or, at the utmost, to the evangelization of their own country, obtained a wider view of the glory of Christ's kingdom, and were led to unite in magnificent plans of mercy, by which multitudes out of every nation, people, and tongue will be brought to His throne.

Mr. Judson was now recognized by the churches as an embassador of Christ to the heathen. If we regard a desire for a work as any proof of a Divine call to and fitness for its prosecution, none can doubt the propriety of his being set apart for missionary labor. He had other qualifications of a high order. His intellectual powers and attainments, as the reader will already have marked, had attracted great attention, and caused most favorable auguries to be uttered concerning him in the event of his remaining in America. It has, we know, sometimes been argued that God chooses "ignorant and unlearned men" for important undertakings. It is not difficult, certainly, to show that, oftentimes, His instruments have been selected from among those whose early days have been passed amid the hardships and privations incident to poverty; but it is also easy to show, from an examination of instances, that the most cultivated intellects have been called to

service whenever these have been found in connection with that holiness which is indispensable for the Divine use. It is easy for superficial minds to plead that Carey was a shoemaker; but they would not present such a case if they remembered that his philological and theological attainments were very considerable when he went to India. Though these acquirements were not made in a seminary, few who passed through English institutions were his equals. So, in the case of our pioneer missionary: The Lord anointed one who had not only spiritual affections, and whose intellect was capable of large acquirements, but who had also possessed and improved opportunities by which the head was qualified for its part of the consecration.

Appointed, married, ordained, there remained only the embarkation for Mr. Judson to realize the fulfillment of his desires in connection with his departure. In less than two weeks after the ordination, on the eighteenth of February, his wife and himself, and with them Mr. and Mrs. Newell, were on board the Caravan, bound for India. The last adieus of Christian friends had been taken, and the next morning they were all looking on the old town and the coasts of their native land as they believed for the last time. Their departure was not like that of missionaries in this day. Their enterprise was regarded as excessively fanatical; and many Christians who, amid the solemn influences of the ordination services, felt a deep sympathy for them, in what they deemed less excited moments, doubted the propriety of their undertaking. When Mr. Judson returned to this country, he himself gave an account of the circumstances of the departure in 1812: "When your missionaries left your shores, very few were willing to be known

as approving of their enterprise. Two young men, about to go from their homes to the heathen, on the morning of their departure from their native land, were addressed by the secretary of a missionary society, as they sat at his breakfast table, as follows: 'Brethren, I have business that demands my attention to-day in a neighboring town; you will therefore have to excuse me from going with you to your vessel!' Those young men went silently and alone." Any one acquainted with the uncertainties attached to the sailing of vessels forty years since, will not wonder, perhaps, that this was the case; but it is evident that ministers in that day had not much of that love and enthusiasm, with regard to missionaries, which the Ephesian elders manifested toward Paul when they "accompanied him to the ship." The Christian world has now a more just appreciation of the honorable character of the missionary enterprise, and masters of merchant vessels are not so contented to wait for fair winds.

The sundering of the ties which bound them to their homes was no small grief, and the thought of leaving their native land, apparently thus "despised and forsaken of men" was peculiarly trying, both to Mr. Judson and Mr. Newell. The first act of these young men on board ship was that which piety, as well as loneliness, would prompt. There was a voice speaking to them, "Enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee," and obeying its spirit, they withdrew from the deck, and "when they threw themselves on their knees in their lonely cabin, they seemed to hear a voice saying, 'You are not alone, for I am with you.'"

Never had a vessel quitted the United States which

bore Americans on a like errand to that of the passengers of the Caravan. The truths which Bernard Barton has so beautifully wrought into verse concerning the first Baptist missionaries from Old England will apply to the first missionaries from New England:

"These went not forth, as man too oft hath done.
Braving the ocean billows' wild uproar,
In hopes to gather ere life's sands were run,
Yet added heaps of Mammon's sordid ore.
They went not forth earth's treasures to explore,
Where sleeps in sunless depths the diamond's ray,
Nor were they urged by love of classic lore,
Their homage of idolatry to pay
Where heroes fought and fell, or poets poured their lay.

"They left not home to cross the briny sea,
With the proud conqueror's ambitious aim,
To wrong the guileless, to enslave the free,
And win a blood-stained wreath of doubtful fame
By deeds unworthy of the Christian name;
Nor to inspect, with taste's inquiring eye,
Temple and palace of gigantic frame,
Or pyramid up-soaring to the sky,
Trophies of art's rich power in ages long gone by.

* * * * * *

"For they went forth as followers of the Lamb,
To spread His gospel-message far and wide,
In the dread power of Him, the great I AM,
In the meek spirit of the Crucified."

On the voyage, Mr. Judson devoted much time to study. The result of this on one subject will more properly be embraced in the following chapter. Both himself and wife were earnestly seeking the piety they believed essential for their great work. In this we may believe they were mutual helpers. In a letter dated "At sea, April 11th, 1812," Mrs. Judson says: "I find Mr. Judson one of the kindest, most faithful, and affectionate of husbands. His conversation frequently

dissipates the gloomy clouds of spiritual darkness which hang over my mind, and brightens my hope of a happy eternity. I hope God will make us instrumental of preparing each other for usefulness in this world, and greater happiness in a future world."

On the 13th of June it was the pleasure of our voyagers to hear the welcome word "Land," and to look upon the towering mountains of Golconda. That night they came to anchor in the Bay of Bengal, and, having procured a pilot, on the 15th they commenced ascending the Hoogley. Two days after, the Caravan was in the harbor of Calcutta. Proceeding on shore, Mr. Judson sought permission to live in the country, but at night returned to the vessel to announce his ill-success. The following morning the two brethren made a fresh attempt, but without any satisfactory result. The party, however, determined to land, and were met and welcomed by the venerable leader of English missions, Dr. Carey.

In the evening it was the privilege of the new missionary company once more to gather with a worshiping assembly. Only those who have spent long days deprived of the privileges of the sanctuary, can fully enter into their feelings, as, entering into an edifice belonging to the Church of England, they "heard the organ play our old favorite tune, 'Bangor.'" Every thing in the appearance of the building was different from a church-edifice at home. Adapted to the climate in its construction, and having "a number of *punkahs*, something like a fan several yards in length, hung around, with ropes fastened to the outside, which were pulled by some of the natives to keep the church cool," it seemed to show that they were far from home. Very different, likewise, were the usages of worship

from those to which they had been accustomed in their native New England; yet we may suppose that many passages in the services touched responsive chords in their souls. In the reading of the ninety-third and ninety-fourth Psalms—which were a part of the appointed Scriptures—there were verses which had peculiar and new significance. They could testify that "The waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly; but yet the Lord, who dwelleth on high, is mightier." Perhaps, as already they found the ruling powers placing difficulties in the way of their enterprise, their souls went up in the inquiry, "Lord, how long shall the ungodly, how long shall the ungodly triumph?" It may be that they concluded, "Blessed is the man whom thou chastenest, O Lord, and teachest him out thy law." In what language could their faith more appropriately express itself than this: "The Lord will not fail his people; neither will He forsake his inheritance; until righteousness turn again unto judgment?"

Chapter Fourth.

FIRST DAYS IN ASIA.

"We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair."—2 Cor iv. 8.

AFTER a night in Calcutta, Mr. and Mrs. Judson, with Mr. and Mrs. Newell, repaired to Serampore, in accordance with an invitation they had received from the missionaries there, to make their home with them till the arrival of Messrs. Hall, Nott, and Rice, who had appointed to sail from Philadelphia the same week that the Caravan left Salem.

In the congenial associations which were presented them by acquaintance with Messrs. Marshman and Ward, both Mr. Judson and Mr. Newell found great delight, after the long incarceration of a voyage from Salem to Calcutta. They had enjoyed this privilege but ten days when the interference of the government caused them great distress.

A brief account of the circumstances under which the vast territory, generally known as the British East Indies, is held, may be useful to our younger readers. Though regarded as a possession of the English crown, its government is vested in the East India Company. The origin of this body was as follows: In the year 1600 a number of London merchants formed themselves into an association for trading purposes, with a capital of about £400,000. To this association Queen Elizabeth granted a charter, incorporating them as "The Gov-

ernor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The company, in its origin, appears to have simply had trade in view; but its career has been aptly compared to the case of the man who went forth in quest of his father's asses, and returned having found a kingdom. In its search for pearls, spices, and silks, it discovered a territory over which it was easy to assert and maintain absolute dominion. This it was not slow in doing; and in order to legalize its conquests in the country of which its members were subjects, from successive monarchs and by laws of Parliament the company obtained increased immunities and powers. By great sagacity, and, it is to be feared, little regard to moral considerations, it has continued to make additions to its possessions till it has obtained a large empire, which has been ruled with despotic power. It is customary for the charter to be renewed every few years; and, till about the period of the formation of the English Baptist Missionary Society, the Christian world gave so little attention to the diffusion of the Gospel, that the obstacles which the company were disposed to place in the way of evangelizing its territories scarcely received any attention. At that time, as Messrs. Carey and Thomas were about to depart for India, general attention was given to that immense country as a field of Christian labor, and the opposition of the company to evangelization became more fully known and realized. The subject of the renewal of the charter coming before the House of Commons in 1793, strenuous efforts were made to graft into it provisions favorable to missions. The effort was, however, unsuccessful. Indeed, so little light was there in high places, that a bishop rose in his place in the House of Lords to deprecate "any attempt to

interfere with the religion, laws, or local customs of the people of India;" and, as his ground for such a course, maintained that, "as Christians, there was no obligation upon us, were it possible, which he denied, to attempt the conversion of the natives of India—the command of our Saviour to his apostles to preach the Gospel to all nations, did not, as he conceived, apply to us!"

The charter being thus renewed, no pains were spared by the company or its servants to prevent missionaries obtaining access to the native mind. Dr. Carey and his associates found it impossible, for years, to obtain a footing in the company's possessions; and had, therefore, to resort to Serampore. But when that place passed into the possession of the East India Company, in 1801, the extensive attainments of the missionaries as linguists, and the valuable character of their facilities for printing, procured for them a partial toleration in missionary labors. So little had the company done for evangelization up to the time of Mr. Judson's arrival, that, though in England the members of this corporation most valiantly shouted "Church and King" at the convivial board, but two edifices of worship could be found in all India belonging to the Church in which they professed to glory.

When the American missionaries arrived at Calcutta, the charter of the company was again near expiration. The light of the nineteenth century had done something for India in England, and it was evident that it could not be renewed without some regard being paid to the demands of Christian philanthropy. Like all other men who desire to perpetuate wrong, and only relinquish their power to do evil by compulsion, the company, in the prospect of the loss of its proscriptive

privileges, manifested more than ever its bitter and unrelenting hostility to Christian missions. It was this which caused Mr. Judson and his brother missionary to be summoned to Calcutta. Arriving there, they found their worst fears realized; a government order being read to them requiring them immediately to leave the Presidency and return to America.

To the view of the two missionaries and their English brethren the prospect was now exceedingly dark. They, however, set themselves to an earnest consideration as to the practicability of finding a field of labor where they could be free from the dictation of the powers who held sway in British India. When accepted as missionaries, the brethren had been appointed "to labor, under the direction of the board, in Asia, either in the Burman empire, or in Surat, or in Prince of Wales Island, or elsewhere," as Providence might open a "favorable door." Large as was the field indicated, they could not find a "favorable door." Noah's dove found it no more difficult to discover a resting-place, than they did a spot where they might preach the Gospel.

The project of a mission to Burmah, which was a primary instruction of the board, was considered out of the question. The English brethren who had labored there had done so amid many discouragements, and in circumstances of great danger, and an entire cessation of effort was contemplated. Unwilling to go back to America, and thus relinquish all hope of missionary labor in the East, the brethren solicited leave to go to the Isle of France, and as the vessel which offered the opportunity of going thither could accommodate but two passengers, it was yielded to Mr. and Mrs. Newell, who accordingly sailed August 4th.

Four days after the departure of Mr. Newell, Messrs. Hall, Nott, and Rice arrived. Perceiving no other course open, the two former resolved likewise to seek the Isle of France; but afterward learning that more toleration might be hoped for in Bombay, they sailed for that presidency in the latter part of November. Here, with great difficulty, they obtained permission to remain. Mr. Hall, it is well known, for some thirteen years nobly toiled in the service of his Master, when he resigned his spirit to his Creator and God. Mr. Nott was in a short time induced by the state of his health to return to the United States.

Mr. Judson and Mr. Rice yet remained in Calcutta. There was a tie binding them closely to each other. Though they had sought the Eastern world in different vessels, yet while on the voyage each had been engaged in study on a controversial subject, which had brought them on their arrival in India to be greatly in doubt concerning doctrines to which all their days they had given an unhesitating assent. As Mr. Judson expected on arriving in Calcutta to meet the Baptist missionaries, he felt it important for the honor of his denomination to be able to defend its sentiments, if, as he thought probable, occasion should arise which would render it necessary. When, however, he brought successive arguments in review, and considered how they would be met by Baptist advocates, he found them more liable to overthrow than he had supposed, while it appeared to him that the simple principles which they held, though very capable of ridicule in popular discourse, could not be satisfactorily disposed of in the closeness of argument which became a personal interview, especially with those who were some years older than himself, and who had, therefore, a claim for

courteousness, which with younger men might not appear so imperative.

On arriving in India, Mr. Judson, like many others, found Baptists not so belligerent as his early educational prejudices had led him to suppose. In the weeks he spent in Serampore, to his surprise, his rather uncharitable expectations of the ill-breeding of the missionaries were not realized. They scrupulously fulfilled the duties of hospitality, and did not obtrude their peculiarities on the attention of their guests. Nevertheless, he pursued his studies on the subject, though earnestly dissuaded by Mrs. Judson. After the arrival of the rest of the missionary company, they took up their abode in Calcutta, and having found in the library of their chamber many books on both sides, he was soon joined in his inquiries on the subject by his wife. She has left a record that she commenced reading with all her prejudices on the Pædobaptist side.

The spirit in which these inquiries were subsequently prosecuted can be best shown by an extract from the pen of Mrs. Judson, as found in her memoir by Professor Knowles.

"Mr. Judson resolved to examine it candidly and prayerfully, let the result be what it would. No one in the mission family knew the state of his mind, as they never conversed with any of us on this subject. I was very fearful he would become a Baptist, and frequently suggested the unhappy consequences if he should. He always answered, that his duty compelled him to examine the subject, and he hoped he should have a disposition to embrace the truth, though he paid dear for it. I always took the Pædobaptists' side in reasoning with him, although I was as doubtful of

the truth of their system as he. After we came to Calcutta, he devoted his whole time to reading on this subject, having obtained the best authors on both sides. After having examined and re-examined the subject, in every way possible, and comparing the sentiments of both Baptists and Pædobaptists with the Scriptures, he was compelled, from a conviction of the truth, to embrace those of the former. I confined my attention almost entirely to the Scriptures, comparing the Old with the New Testament, and tried to find something to favor infant baptism, but was convinced it had no foundation there. I examined the covenant of circumcision, and could see no reason for concluding that baptism was to be administered to children because circumcision was. Thus, my dear parents and sisters, we are both confirmed Baptists, not because we wished to be, but because truth compelled us to be. A renunciation of our former sentiments has caused us more pain than any thing which ever happened to us through our lives."

It was no trifling sacrifice which it was necessary for Mr. Judson to make if he became a Baptist. His brethren were exposed to many trials by the opposition of the Government, but they were assured of the countenance and support of the board at home. Not only was he exposed to trouble from the same source, but if he followed out his convictions, his connection with the organization in America must necessarily be sundered. Mr. Judson, in his letter to the Third Church, in Plymouth, of which he had been a member, thus expresses his difficulties.*

* This admirable production may be found in connection with Mr. Judson's sermon on Baptism.

"Must I, then, forsake my parents, the church with which I stand connected, the society under whose patronage I have come out, the companions of my missionary undertaking? Must I forfeit the good opinion of all my friends in my native land, occasioning grief to some, and provoking others to anger, and be regarded henceforth, by all my former dear acquaintances, as a weak, despicable Baptist, who has not sense enough to comprehend the connection between the Abrahamic and the Christian systems? All this was mortifying; it was hard to flesh and blood. But I thought again, it is better to be guided by the opinion of Christ, who is the Truth, than by the opinion of men, however good, whom I know to be in an error. The praise of Christ is better than the praise of men. Let me cleave to Christ at all events, and prefer his favor above my chief joy."

The resolve was taken, and, to the surprise of the English missionaries, they received the following letter:

CALCUTTA, *August* 27, 1812.

TO THE REV. MESSRS. CAREY, MARSHMAN, AND WARD.

As you have been ignorant of the late exercises of my mind on the subject of Baptism, the communication which I am about to make may occasion you some surprise.

It is now about four months since I took the subject into serious and prayerful consideration. My inquiries commenced during my passage from America, and, after much laborious research and painful trial, which I shall not now detail, have issued in entire conviction, that *the immersion of a professing believer is the only Christian baptism.*

In these exercises I have not been alone. Mrs. Judson has been engaged in a similar examination, and has come to the same conclusion. Feeling, therefore, that we are in an unbaptized state, we wish to profess our faith in Christ by being baptized in obedience to his sacred commands.

ADONIRAM JUDSON, JR.

In compliance with this request Mr. and Mrs. Judson were baptized September 6th, by the Rev. Mr.

Ward, in the chapel which three years before had been opened in Calcutta. Mr. Rice was baptized in the same place in November following. A short time after his baptism Mr. Judson preached the sermon on the subject of Baptism which has been extensively circulated in the United States. This discourse Dr. Carey pronounced the "best" he had ever heard on the subject.

Having now made a change in his sentiment and position, Mr. Judson felt it imperative to inform the secretary of the American Board. How deeply painful he felt his lot, his communication will show.

Calcutta, *September* 1, 1812.

Rev. and dear Sir—My change of sentiments on the subject of baptism is considered by my missionary brethren as incompatible with my continuing their fellow-laborer in the mission which they contemplate on the Island of Madagascar; and it will, I presume, be considered by the Board of Commissioners as equally incompatible with my continuing their missionary. The board will, undoubtedly, feel as unwilling to support a Baptist missionary, as I feel to comply with their instructions, which particularly direct us to baptize "*credible believers, with their households.*"

The dissolution of my connection with the Board of Commissioners, and a separation from my dear missionary brethren, I consider most distressing consequences of my late change of sentiments, and, indeed, the most distressing events which have ever befallen me. I have now the prospect before me of going alone to some distant island, unconnected with any society at present existing, from which I might be furnished with assistant laborers or pecuniary support. Whether the Baptist churches in America will compassionate my situation, I know not. I hope, therefore, that while my friends condemn what they deem a departure from the truth, they will at least pity me and pray for me.

With the same sentiments of affection and respect as ever, I am, sir, your friend and servant, Adoniram Judson, Jr.

Rev. Dr. Worcester, *Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.*

Immediate measures appearing necessary, Mr. Judson wrote by the same mail to the Rev. Dr. Baldwin, of

Boston, and the Rev. Dr. Bolles, of Salem, presenting an earnest plea to the Baptists of America to embark in the missionary enterprise. The first paragraph of his letter to the latter tells his story. "I recollect that during a short interview I had with you in Salem, I suggested the formation of a society among the Baptists in America for the support of foreign missions, in imitation of the exertions of your English brethren. Little did I then expect to be personally concerned in such an attempt."

The desires and trials which pertained to his new position were thus presented:

"Alone, in this foreign heathen land, I make my appeal to those whom, with their permission, I will call *my Baptist brethren* in the United States.

"With the advice of the brethren at Serampore, I am contemplating a mission on one of the Eastern islands. They have lately sent their brother Chater to Ceylon, and their brother Robinson to Java. At present, Amboyna seems to present the most favorable opening. Fifty thousand souls are there perishing without the means of life; and the situation of the island is such that a mission there established might, with the blessing of God, be extended to the neighboring islands in those seas.

"But should I go thither, it is a most painful reflection that I must go alone, and also uncertain of the means of support. But I will trust in God. He has frequently enabled me to praise his divine goodness, and will never forsake those who put their trust in him."

Mr. Judson's change of denominational sentiments is one of the marked events in the history of American missions. "He who does not see," Dr. Babcock well

remarks, "in this transition of an humble, unportioned young man from the ranks of one company of Christ's professed followers to another, with its cohering results, something higher, nobler, worthier, and of more far-reaching relevancy to God's cause, than the petty triumph or discomfiture of a narrow-minded sectarian partisan on either side, has yet to open his eyes more widely if he would take in the divinely assigned lesson which is here taught of the wisdom and goodness of Him who worked all things after the counsel of his own will." In the time at which this change occurred, the hand of God is to be recognized. The friends of the organization which had sent Mr. Judson forth, did not allow his secession from their cherished principles to abate their growing interest in the great cause, and it was the kind of event needed to bring out the energies of a denomination of Christians, the forces of which had not as yet come together in earnest co-operation for any undertaking worthy their strength and resources, though its churches included in their membership near two hundred thousand. The high regard which cotemporaneous history shows us was entertained for Mr. Judson in his former ecclesiastical connections was not without great influence on the Baptist denomination As its adherents recognized the Divine hand in leading the chief spirit in the missionary company to adopt their principles, many were prepared to give the cause of missions a more favorable examination, and in the end to yield themselves to its furtherance with a zeal and perseverance never surpassed.

Chapter Fifth.

SEEKING A COUNTRY.

"Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed."—2 CORINTHIANS iv. 9.

MORE than five months were passed by Mr. Judson at Serampore and Calcutta, during all which time uncertainty and fear chiefly occupied his mind. It seemed impossible for him to decide where he would seek a field of labor, and there was little hope of any long reprieve from government molestation.

The probabilities of openings in various directions were canvassed, and in some cases favorable appearances were discerned, but not of such a character that our missionary could believe it the Divine will for him to follow any of the paths they seemed to present. Burmah, as already shown, had long occupied his attention, and, though greatly discouraged, he had almost resolved to go there, when the difficulties between the government of that empire and the English assumed so warlike an aspect, that he was led to believe that he could not hope for safety. Japan, Persia, Java, Madagascar, Amboyna, and even South America, were afterward much in his thoughts. Unable to arrive at a decision, he spent the greater part of his time with Mrs. Judson, endeavoring to realize the vastness of the work in which he had engaged, his dependence on God

for success and direction, and the brevity and uncertainty of life.

While he yet remained thus undecided, the government authorities came to a conclusion for him. He had been a considerable time in Bengal, and as, though frequently warned to depart, he had still remained, it was believed that he intended to settle in the company's territories. This was contrary to its councils, and a peremptory order was issued, by which Mr. Rice, himself and wife were to be taken on board one of its ships and sent to England. Their names, according to the usual custom, were published in a newspaper as passengers for London. Mr. Judson saw that if this design was executed it would frustrate their purpose of missionary toil for a lengthened period, and with his colleague he sought to find a vessel for some other destination, hoping that in the event of their discovering an opportunity of immediately leaving the country, the order of banishment would, so far as England was concerned, be recalled. The Creole was then loading for the Isle of France, whither Mr. Newell was already gone, and as leave had originally been obtained for Mr. and Mrs. Judson to go there, the party applied for a pass that they might proceed in the vessel which now offered. The pass was refused. Nevertheless, they sought the captain and besought him to take them without one. This he consented to do, and they embarked at midnight.

They had proceeded down the Hoogley for two days, and were felicitating themselves on their escape, when a government dispatch reached the pilot forbidding him to proceed farther. Messrs. Judson and Rice felt that this detention boded no good to them, and, conceiving that if they remained on board they might hasten an

arrest, immediately that the vessel was brought to, they obtained a boat and sought refuge on shore. The next evening a letter was received from the owner of the vessel, stating that, on inquiry, he had learned that the Creole was detained because of a suspicion that she had passengers whom the captain had been forbidden to take. On the receipt of this intelligence Mrs. Judson went on shore, and a council was held as to the course the party should adopt. It was judged best to see if the authorities would grant them even yet a pass. On this forlorn hope Mr. Rice proceeded to Calcutta, while Mr. and Mrs. Judson remained at a small tavern on the bank of the river, about a mile from the ship, fearing that every European whom they saw pass was in search of them. Mr. Rice returned the following day to report that the authorities were inexorable. All hope of proceeding in the Creole was now extinguished, and the party resolved to make their temporary abode at a tavern sixteen miles lower down the Hoogly, which, on account of its increased distance from Calcutta, promised greater safety. As the embargo on the Creole was removed and she was about to resume her course, it was necessary that the baggage be brought on shore. It being inexpedient for either of the gentlemen to go on board, Mrs. Judson went off to request that their property might be allowed to remain till the vessel reached the point where they proposed to stay. To this the captain assented, and tendered her the accommodation of his vessel for herself; but, having to return on shore to give Mr. Judson cognizance of her plans, the Creole was on her way before she was ready to embark, and it was only after great inconvenience and exposure she succeeded in overtaking her and getting on board.

Through the kindness of the pilot she was landed at the lower tavern, where she was able to make arrangements by which their baggage was safely restored. Here Mr. Judson and his colleague rejoined her.

After taking possession of their new quarters, on a calm consideration of their case, our subject deemed the execution of the purpose of the authorities so inevitable, that he almost concluded to return to Calcutta. The bare thought of this course was, however, intolerable; and as a vessel could take them with less risk of discovery from the tavern, they determined still to seek an escape. The tavern-keeper being made aware of the urgent reasons which caused them to desire a passage, promised to use his influence with the captain of a vessel bound for Madras, who was expected down the river the following day. Although this would not take them beyond the jurisdiction of the company, yet it was hoped that going to Madras would facilitate their deliverance from its oppressions. This prospect sustained their sinking hopes for the three ensuing days. The vessel then arrived, but they were again disappointed. The captain declared himself unable to take them!

The day was closing, and the most gloomy forebodings occupied their minds; and as imagination contrasted their own bitter experiences with the happy employments of old companions and friends in their native land—for it was the Lord's day—they had only an increase of grief. But though God had thus far permitted them to walk in the midst of trouble, they were now to be revived. A letter was brought to Mr. Judson, as they sat at the supper table, which showed them that He had stretched forth His hand against the wrath of their enemies. It contained a

PASS. The vessel indicated in the document was the Creole. Scarcely venturing to hope that she was yet within reach, yet thinking it barely possible that she had anchored at Saugor, some seventy miles below, they started at once. All night and the following day they pressed on without allowing themselves any thought of rest till they should know the issue of their pursuit. At length the masts of the vessels lying at anchor at Saugor were discovered. Now came moments fraught with immeasurable importance. Each one was afraid to look, but the suspense was too trying for any of them to refrain, and with steady and prolonged gaze they sought to discover the Creole. As they looked they saw a vessel which seemed like her, but no one dared announce it was her till assured beyond doubt. This assurance they soon had, and "There she is!" awoke a thrill of joy in their hearts such as they had not known in Asia. They were soon safe aboard. To whom they were indebted for the pass they never knew, and they could "only view the hand of God, and wonder." The fact of the vessel being still within reach was a not less remarkable proof of Divine interposition.

The Creole sailed from Saugor the last day of November. The time occupied on the voyage was diligently improved by Mr. Judson; for it was not in his nature to be inactive if any thing could be done in the way of preparation for any field of labor to which he might be called. While in Calcutta it had seemed that he was not to be suffered to labor in Asia, and having thought it might be expedient to attempt a mission in South America he commenced the study of the Portuguese language. Now, bound for the Isle of France, which it was possible might afford a field of

labor, as French was most generally spoken there, he applied himself with all earnestness to its acquisition.

The Creole arrived at Port Louis, after a lengthened and trying passage, January 17th, 1813. On the voyage Mr. and Mrs. Judson had been comforted in the prospect of a reunion with Mr. and Mrs. Newell. Between the ladies there had been an intimacy of years. Harriet Atwood's aspirations for missionary work arose from Ann Hasseltine's divulging to her the purpose she had formed of joining Mr. Judson in going to the heathen world. Mr. Newell had also been induced to consider the subject of missions from Mr. Judson's interest and intentions concerning the great enterprise. These things conjoined with the fact that they had been fellow-voyagers together, caused them to entertain a mutual and deeply affectionate regard. The first intelligence which reached the newly arrived couple brought to them the knowledge, that to one of their friends they were not nearer on the Isle of France than in India or on the ocean. The day which was memorable to them on account of their deliverance from the malice of their enemies in Bengal, had witnessed Mrs. Newell's escape from all toil and sorrow; and instead of interchanging thoughts and experiences with her, they had only the privilege of hearing from her husband the story of her calm and triumphant death, to visit her sepulcher, and to rejoice in the consolations which a cross, erected by superstitious hands over another tomb, suggested of the real character of her faith, and the triumph of the Redeemer and his people over death and the grave.

It was soon evident to Mr. Judson that there was little prospect for missionary labor on the Isle of France. A project concerning Madagascar, he found,

must also be relinquished, as there was no hope of its idolatrous ruler allowing missionaries in his dominions. He also found himself still exposed to the hostility of the East India Company, and though the Governor did not sympathize with its counsels, yet he had little reason to believe that its malignancy could be long avoided.

On their arrival in the Isle of France, Mr. and Mrs. Judson had some relief in their trials in the presence of other members of the missionary company. But of this privilege they were soon deprived; Mr. Newell left them, February 24th, for Bombay, and three weeks after Mr. Rice took passage for America with the view of promoting the cause of missions in the denomination whose principles he had adopted. They were "now entirely alone." No repining, however, was uttered by them. Cicero might bewail, in most doleful terms, his compulsory absence from his friends and the scenes to which he had been accustomed, and our missionaries were not perhaps naturally of "sterner stuff," but they had made attainments in equanimity far beyond those of the orator. John was more highly favored amid the rocks of the Egean; but we can scarcely believe that these humble children of America, in the Isle of France, for the testimony of Jesus Christ, were behind the apostle in patience and fortitude. The chastening of the Lord was grievous to them, but they were able to regard it as an appointed instrumentality to fit them for their future engagements. Mrs. Judson, doubtless, expressed the mind of both on this subject when she exclaimed—"Oh, if our trials may be then sanctified, we will rejoice; nor in all thy chastisements, O blessed Jesus, will we wish to have the rod removed, until thou hast effectually subdued us to thyself."

While he remained in the Isle of France, though Mr. Judson was diligent in his endeavors to do good among the English soldiers and others, he was yet anxiously looking for an opening which should present to him a wider field of usefulness. In May he resolved to attempt a mission at Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, which had been indicated for missionary operations in the first appointment of the American Board; and hoping that he might attain his object by way of Madras, he secured a passage for himself and Mrs. Judson to that port. He arrived there in June, and was kindly received by the Rev. Mr. Loveless, a missionary of the London Society, who, being from England, was allowed a scanty toleration. Mr. Judson found fresh cause of disquietude in that city. Messrs. Johns and Lawson, who had left England for India in 1811, with the consent of the Board of Directors of the East India Company, to join the Baptists' missions, but had traveled by way of America, had been required, on the flimsy pretext of not having come direct, to return to England. Mr. Lawson was required to sign an engagement to return, and hesitating to do this had been committed to prison; from this, however, he had been relieved on the representation of Dr. Marshman; and as his services were essential in the printing operations, the Governor-general had finally consented to his remaining. No such plea could be made for Mr. Johns, and he was compelled to go on board ship and return to England. With this manifestation of opposition to individuals for simply coming to British India *by way of* America, it was evident that one *from* America could not hope for the least courtesy. Of this there was full proof in the treatment of Messrs. Hall and Nott at Bom-

bay. It was certain that as soon as an order could be obtained from Calcutta, that Mr. Judson, having been before a source of annoyance, would be arrested and sent to England, and his only safety was, to escape before such authority could be obtained. All thought of Penang was abandoned. An escape from British India was the great desire. "It may easily be conceived," he remarks, "with what feelings I inquired the destination of vessels in the Madras roads. I found none that would sail in season but one bound to Rangoon." Though Burmah had once been to his view the most favorable field in the world, yet with the further knowledge obtained in India, his mind concerning it was so changed that he had become "accustomed to regard it with feelings of horror." But Divine Providence was now to fulfill its purpose. The preparatory discipline for a voyage to that dark land had been endured, and thither, however at present unwilling, he was to go. "It was now," he says, "brought to a point: we must either venture there or be sent to Europe. All other paths were shut up; and thus situated, though dissuaded by all our friends at Madras, we commended ourselves to the care of God, and embarked the 22d of June."

Scarcely ever did adventurers leave a port under more unfavorable circumstances, or prosecute a voyage in greater peril or fear. It was a crazy old vessel, without any proper accommodations for passengers. The captain was the only person who could speak English, and the supplies were very scanty and inferior.

Added to these inconveniences, "Mrs. Judson was taken dangerously ill, and continued so until, at one period," Mr. Judson says, "I came to experience the awful sensation which necessarily resulted from the

expectation of an immediate separation from my beloved wife, the only remaining companion of my wanderings."

From a review of events, Mr. Judson assuredly gathered that the Lord called him to preach the Gospel to the Burmese, but, on his voyage, his faith was to be tried by learning that even yet disasters might hinder him in the way. It had been the intention of the captain to take in a cargo of cocoa-nuts at the Nicobar Islands; but in attempting to make them, the vessel was driven into a dangerous strait, between the Little and Great Andamans, two savage coasts where the captain had never been before. In the perils of this dangerous passage, with rocks frowning below, and with reports of cannibals on the shore, Mr. Judson was made to fear that shipwreck and a horrible death might thwart his cherished purpose. These evils he was mercifully permitted to escape.

It has been said of the royal psalmist that there was a "holy skill" in his gratitude. "Nothing came amiss to it, but like the fire which transmutes rotten wood and dingy coal to light and flame, the fire of David's devotion turned his hardships into blessings and his sorrows into songs of thanksgiving." In these qualities Mr. Judson bore no small resemblance to the son of Jesse, and so, after his experience in "Duncan's passage" of perils in the water, and prospective perils on the land, he writes: "As one evil is sometimes an antidote to another, so it happened with us. Our being driven into this dangerous but quiet channel brought immediate relief to the agitated and exhausted frame of Mrs. Judson, and conduced essentially to her recovery. And in the event, we were safely conducted over the black rocks which we sometimes saw in the

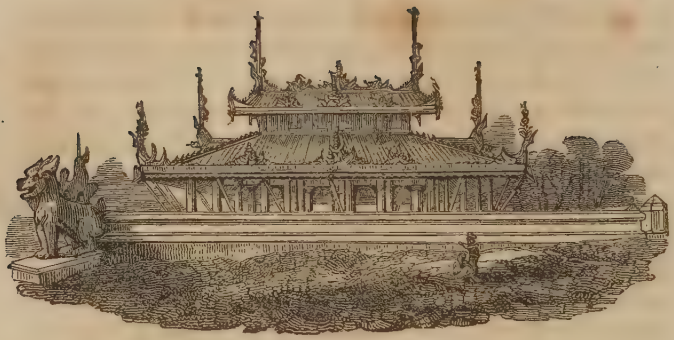
gulf below, and on the eastern side of the islands found favorable winds, which gently wafted us forward to Rangoon."

The Georgiana came to anchor in Rangoon harbor July 13th, 1813. So God brought them to their desired haven.

Not more mysterious and startling were the events by which God directed the way of Paul to the chief city of the Cæsars, than those by which He conducted Mr. Judson to the Burman Empire. The Apostle to the Gentiles was assured that he should see Rome, but in the successive circumstances which preceded his arrival there, exposed to assassins, falsely accused, imprisoned, shipwrecked, it seemed improbable to the eye of man that his hope could be realized. While a student at Andover, Adoniram Judson was much occupied with thoughts of Burmah as a field of missionary toil. When he was ordained, and till he arrived in India, it was the country to which his attention was chiefly directed. Subsequently he believed it his duty to waive his predilections, and seek an opening in some other direction, and the mission on which his heart had been set was dismissed from his mind as impracticable and inexpedient! As we mark the stages of his career after this time, we can scarcely believe that he is to see that country. When we find him under police surveillance, and his name advertised by government as a passenger for England, as we behold him banished to the Isle of France, or seeking a passage to Penang, we can scarcely believe it possible that he is the chosen vessel to bear the name of the Lord before the Gentiles of the golden empire. But the ways of God are in the sea, and his path in the great waters, and his footsteps are not known, and

so when Mr. Judson sought to accomplish what seemed to him a last project for missionary labor in the East, his course was mysteriously directed to Burmah, and the same agency which contributed to work out the purposes of God when Paul was to see Rome, helped their fulfillment with the Apostle to the Burmese. As the wrath of man compelled the former to enter into a ship of Adramyttium, so it forced the latter on board the Georgiana at Madras. Happily, though in imminent peril of shipwreck, God allowed his servant to reach his destination without the same experience of the power of the winds and waves which Paul was made to know.

In the very year in which Mr. Judson went to Rangoon, chiefly through the influence and advocacy of William Wilberforce, in parliament, and of two distinguished Baptist ministers, Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall—the one on the platform and by interviews with leading statesmen, the other through the press—the power of the East India Company to persecute was abridged. In the renewed charter of that year, clauses were inserted favorable to "persons desirous of going to India for the purpose of promoting the religious and moral improvement of the natives." It is probable, had Mr. Judson arrived in India after this time, that with the unfavorable accounts of Burmah, and an open door in the company's territory, he would have sought, like the other American brethren, to establish himself there. But the Lord determined the time in which he should go to the East, and the bounds of his habitation. "O the depths of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"



BURMAN ZAYAT.

Chapter Sixth.

THE APPOINTED FIELD.

"Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation."—ROMANS xv. 20.

IN directing the way of our missionary and his wife to Burmah, the Lord gave them to see the fulfillment of "their earliest wishes, that they might bear the light of truth to the most deeply necessitous, and raise the standard of the Cross in some chief city of Oriental heathenism."

Like all who had preceded him, Mr. Judson sought to establish himself in Rangoon.* This place is situated on the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy, about twenty-six miles from the sea. As it is accessible for

* "Rangoon is written in the Burman language Ran-kong, and pronounced Yan-gong, which is a compound epithet meaning 'peace effected.' This name was given to it by Alompra, who made it the capital of Pegu."—*Crawfurd.*

ships of large burden, and has an uninterrupted communication with the upper provinces at all seasons, it had long been the chief port of the empire. It had, therefore, a large resident population, while it was known that on account of its foreign commerce, and, in addition to this, the presence of the Shway Dagon pagoda, it was a place of great resort for the people from all parts. The attractions which it presented to them for the purposes of trade and religion, combined with the opportunity it afforded of communication with Bengal and America, and, if necessary, facilities for escape in case a missionary should be menaced with persecution, made it superior as a seat of evangelistic operations to any which the empire presented.

Mr. Judson's first impressions of Rangoon itself were unfavorable, and caused him to repine at the Providence which had directed his way thither. This unworthy feeling, however, was promptly subdued; but from all the accounts which we have of the town at that period, and even to the present, it is not wonderful that to one who had been accustomed to New England towns, and who had visited two of the chief cities of British India, which, though given to idolatry, were so far superior to Rangoon, the contrast was appalling. Though called the "golden gate," to the eyes of those who have enjoyed a more advanced civilization, this designation seems to have had as little propriety as the classic names which modern vandalism oftentimes degrades by its unworthy appropriations. The *Asiatic Journal* published the following lines as a descriptive sketch in 1826, thirteen years after Mr. Judson took up his abode there.

> "A mere clump of rude hovels, supported on piles,
> Covered in with long grass or occasional tiles;

A stout timber wall, fifteen or twenty feet high,
Shuts out every thing, saving the wind and the sky,
And incloses a spot in circumference wide
As most other stockades in the kingdom beside.
Round about, sheds and hovels like mushrooms extend,
Springing up day by day, multiplying without end,
And all based in morass, bog, and quagmire so deep,
To fall in it were fatal, for there you would sleep.
Timber paths upon piles traverse hamlets around,
And though ticklish certainly, yet they abound.
Then for reptiles and creatures of harmless intent,
Such as snakes, toads, and scorpions that Heaven has sent,
Lizards, spiders, and rats, and all fancy would call
Vile and odious, why, these, they abound, one and all,
And what some might consider a source of regret,
Is the first of advantages spoken of yet;
I mean Heaven's abundant supply to the air
Of humidity, fertile, prolific, and rare.
When the hot sun has sheltered from mortals his rays,
Fall salubrious night dews to finish the days;
'Tis the same with our Indian clime in degree,
But the blessing is here conferred doubly as free,
Not a moderate heat of some eighty and eight,
But a hundred and three is the average rate."

Three years after his arrival, Mr. Judson spoke of it as a "most wretched place." Surely no one, with the above description, will think that our missionary magnified the infelicities of his situation.

Whatever the unpleasantness of its external aspects, in the state of the people he found that which deeply moved his sympathies. Rangoon presented a wide field for missionary exertion. It was a place where Christ was not named. The subject of this biography could not "build upon another man's foundation." European missionaries it is true had taken up their residence there some years before; but with the exception of a few pages of translation, a mission house which afforded himself and wife an abode was al-

most the only evidence to be found of previous attempts to make known the Gospel. No conversions had occurred in connection with the efforts of his predecessors, and so indifferent had the people been to the truth they desired to make known, that their errand of love was as sunlight to the blind.

The principal evangelical effort made prior to the entrance of the American missionary was by agents of the Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain. As the East India Company compelled Mr. Judson to flee to Rangoon, so to its intolerance may likewise be traced the first movement made with a view to the evangelization of Burmah. In 1806, two missionaries, one of whom was Mr. Chater, arrived at Calcutta, intending to join the mission at Serampore. To this the government made opposition, and, according to its custom, commanded them to return to Europe, and also gave orders that the vessel in which they had come should have no clearance unless the captain took them back. Subsequently the ship was allowed to depart without them; but as the government still manifested dissatisfaction at their continuance at Serampore, it was thought advisable to adopt measures by which they should go, for a time at least, out of the company's territories. With this view Mr. Chater, and with him Mr. Mardon, who had been some years in India, were appointed by the brethren to proceed to Burmah, to ascertain the practicability of establishing a mission in that country. They accordingly embarked from Calcutta in January 1807, and arrived at Rangoon on the tenth of the following month.

After prosecuting their inquiries for about three months, they returned to Serampore. In July, in consequence of their reports concerning the country,

it was proposed that an attempt be made to found a mission, and they were invited to undertake the work. Mr. Mardon, on account of the state of his health, declined, but Mr. Chater expressed his willingness, and he and Mr. Felix Carey, who subsequently offered himself as his colleague, after a solemn charge from Dr. Carey, were dismissed from the church at Serampore, for the purpose of forming a church at Rangoon. The missionary brethren at Serampore thus wrote concerning this effort: "It is in the faith of His promise who hath never despised the day of small things, and who is able to make a little one become a thousand, that this little society has been organized. To His protection we commit the tender plant, praying that, in the Burman dominions, it may be as a handful of corn upon the top of the mountains, the fruit whereof shall shake like Lebanon." The desires of the brethren were not, however, to be realized by the missionaries whom they sent. Mr. Chater was diligent in the acquisition of the language, and made some attempts at translation; but on account of the incessant disturbances of the country, combined with the ill health of his wife, he relinquished his position at Rangoon in 1811, and removed to Ceylon. Subsequently Mr. Kerr was sent from Calcutta, but after a short time he left for Allahabad. When Mr. Judson arrived in Burmah, Mr. Carey was still there. He had, however, been summoned to Ava by the king, and for some time had engaged but little in missionary work. With the exception of two missionaries from the London Missionary Society, one of whom, Mr. Brain, was called from earth soon after his arrival, and the other removed to Vizgapatain, we have no information of any other attempts to introduce the Gospel to the Bur-

man Empire. It can scarcely be said that any missionary who went to Burmah prior to 1813, if we except Mr. Carey, remained long enough to obtain a sufficient acquaintance with the language for usefulness.

Many persons would have inferred from the history of previous efforts to introduce the Gospel that the time for Burmah's evangelization was not yet come. Mr. Judson, however, had been directed to that empire in so wonderful a manner, that he was constrained to believe that it was the Lord's will that another attempt be made. The correctness of his opinion, after events demonstrated. As his disinterested toils were directed to the benefit of the Burmese for nearly forty years, it may be well for us to devote a few pages to the history, customs, manners, and religion of the people to whom he was so manifestly sent.*

The situation of the Burman Empire is made sufficiently plain to the reader by the map accompanying this volume. When the subject of these records commenced his acquaintance with its people, it "covered a space between the ninth and twenty-sixth degrees of north latitude, and between the ninety-second and one hundred and second of east longitude, being about one thousand and fifty geographical miles in length, and six hundred in breadth."† After the war of 1825 and 1826, the boundaries of the territory subject to the Burman monarch were greatly circumscribed. By the treaty of peace the reigning sovereign renounced his claim to dominion over Assam, Cachar, and Jyntea;

* Full and interesting particulars concerning the climate, rivers, soil, productions, etc., of Burmah, are given in Dr. Malcolm's "Travels in Asia," and to this work, those who desire further information, the writer, from a regard to brevity, is compelled to refer them.

† Knowles' "Memoir of Ann H. Judson."

declared Munzipore an independent kingdom; acknowledged the mountains of Arracan as the boundary between his territory and the company's, and yielded the whole of Tenasserim to the British. Another large portion has been annexed to the English possessions since Mr. Judson's decease, so that the province of Pegu is no longer subject to the emperor. The new boundary line, according to a recent English map, crosses the Irrawaddy a short distance north of the city of Prome, and after proceeding a considerable distance to the northeast, takes a southeasterly direction, till it strikes the Salwen river, the previous northern boundary of the territory under British rule. At the present time the dominions of the Burman monarch no where reach the sea-coast. The continuance of peace is considered improbable. It is likely that Burman faithlessness will compel the British to absorb the remaining territory, and thus cause the dynasty to be subverted.

The Burman Empire, at the time Mr. Judson entered it, has been described as a "heterogeneous aggregate of provinces and kingdoms, held together by no common tie but that of conquest." The Peguans occupied a like position under the Burman yoke to that of the Irish with respect to the English under Henry the Eighth. They were forbidden to use their own language, and every appliance which barbarity could invent to crush the remembrance and love of nationality was unsparingly employed. The Karens had never mingled with the Burmese, and the name they bear, which signifies "wild men," is an index of the contempt in which they were held by their oppressors. In fact, all the tribes which had been subjugated to the Burmans regarded them in the light of merciless enemies.

The population of the Burman Empire at the time missions were commenced, was generally reckoned at 17,000,000; but subsequent investigation has reduced the estimate to about 8,000,000. A large portion of the people is to be found in the territory which formerly constituted the southern provinces of the empire, now in possession of the British.

Like all other nations, and especially those of the East, the Burmans attach great value to antiquity, and claim high regard on this account. In the records which are considered to present their history, there is some difficulty in separating the fabulous from the true, but some of these bear evidence of truthfulness. A chronological table which Mr. Judson translated, gives a list of kings extending from 691 B. C. to A. D. 1822. "The strongest internal mark of authenticity in Burman chronology is the average shortness of the reigns. From the year 201 B. C., to the accession of the new king in 1819, a period of two thousand one hundred and twenty years, the number of sovereigns is one hundred and twenty-three; and therefore the length of each reign is only between sixteen and seventeen years, or from three to four years less than the computed average for European monarchies. This is what might be expected among a rude people subject to commotions, rebellions, usurpations, and foreign invasion."*

The most remarkable revolutions of modern times took place about the middle of the seventeenth century. In the year 1740 the Peguans revolted from the Burmese, and after a struggle of some years succeeded in asserting their supremacy. But in 1752 their power was brought to naught by Alompra, a Burman of mean

* Crawfurd's Embassy to the Court of Ava.

birth, who gained the kingdom for himself. From that time the Burmese have had the predominance.

The government of Burmah is despotic. The king is the lord of life and property in his dominions. There is no act of barbarity which it may please him to command which it is prudent to question or resist. His immediate court officers and advisers are regarded as slaves. All to whom office is given exercise it in the same spirit; and as public functionaries for various purposes are very numerous, and are dependent for support on fees, exactions, and bribes, the people are held in constant alarm. Among the soldiery the same rule obtains. The most respectable part of the standing army, if such it may be called, consists of the marines who man the war-boats: and these, a late writer says, "live chiefly by rapine, and are in a constant state of hostility against the rest of the people, which makes them audacious and prompt to execute any orders, however cruel or violent."

In appearance the Burmese are described as short and stout, but on the whole well-proportioned, and, for an Asiatic people, remarkable for activity. In complexion they are commonly brown, and when this assumes a yellowish tinge, its subject is considered the perfection of beauty. The hair of the head is commonly black, coarse, lank, and abundant.

In civilization the people are considered inferior to the Hindoos, and scarcely as industriously disposed. Education, though of course limited, is very common, being the chief object to which the priests direct their attention. Mr. Judson, after a long experience, gave the following account of the training of a native school. "Scholars are considered capable of reading and writing when able to repeat and copy the 'Theu-pong-kyi,'

or spelling book, and the 'Meu-ga-la-thok,' or moral lessons. Their arithmetical knowledge is almost confined to the multiplication table. A few who aspire to the character of 'learned,' advance from the elements of knowledge to the study of 'Baden,' or astrology, and that of the Pali language. This last is studied in the 'Thaddu-kyau,' or grammar in eight divisions, and in various parts of Boodhist scriptures. The *ne plus ultra* in Burman education is the study of the 'Thesegyo,' or book of metaphysics."

The Burmans do not equal some other nations of the East in arts; yet their productions and workmanship are often very creditable. This may be said of their jewelry and brass manufacture. "In casting bells," Dr. Malcolm says, "Burmah transcends all the rest of India. They are disproportionably thick, but of delightful tone. The raised inscriptions and figures are as beautiful as on any bells I have ever seen." "In gilding," the same authority says, "they certainly excel; putting on the leaf with great precision, and making it resist dampness. This gilding endures not only in the house and on the pagodas, but even on the commonest mortar."

The morals of the Burmese are superior to those of any nation in the East. Polygamy, though lawful, does not prevail to any extent. Divorces, however, are very common, and the habits of profligacy of the Burmese would doubtless prove intolerable in the United States and England, though there is much difference of opinion as to the extent of licentiousness. Women are held under no such slavery as among the Hindoos. "Their intercourse is open and unrestricted, not only with their countrymen, but with foreigners. The universal custom is to give them the custody of

their husband's cash; and by them is done the chief part of all buying and selling, both in shops and in the bazaar. They clean rice, bring water, weave and cook; occasionally assisting in the management of a boat or the labors of the field. But hard work of all kinds, the universal custom assigns to men. They are by no means denied education, nor is any impediment placed in the way of their attaining it; but the monastic character of the schools prevents admission there. Private schools for girls are not uncommon in large places. Females of the higher classes do not condemn industry, and affect the languid listlessness of some Orientals."* Inquiries concerning the female branches of a family, which would be an insult in most Eastern nations, are perfectly proper in Burmah.

Many of the vices which are prevalent in more civilized lands are greatly followed by the Burmese. Gambling, for instance, is exceedingly common. Nevertheless, one vice which is lamentably frequent in this country, that of drunkenness, is seldom known among the natives of Burmah. The manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquors is forbidden, and Dr. Malcolm says: "I have seen thousands together for hours, on public occasions, rejoicing in all ardor, without observing an act of violence or a case of intoxication." The most general characteristic of evil in the Burmese is their lying. A quotation from conversation which Mr. Judson gave to the English commissioner, in his deposition after the war, presents this very strongly. "These Kulas,† although they

* Malcolm.

† Kula, as defined by Mr. Judson, in its original meaning was, men having caste, or Hindoos; but now it is extended to all the nations

drink spirits and slay cattle, and are ambitious and rapacious, have a regard for truth and their word which is quite extraordinary; whereas in us Burmese there is no truth." Deceit and craft are thoroughly woven into the national character. Of course there follows from these a long train of delinquency and crime.

No people could be more hospitable to strangers than the Burmese, but in war none know less mercy. "You see us here," said some of the chiefs, previous to the war of 1825, "a mild people, living under regular laws. Such is not the case when we invade foreign countries. We are then under no restraints—we give way to all our passions—we plunder and murder without compunction or control."

The despotic and unprincipled character of the government has done much to prevent the cultivation by the Burmese of their nobler instincts. "There is, perhaps, no country in the world in which the sway of despotism has been less controlled by any correct feeling or sentiment, or which exhibits a stronger specimen of its injurious effects upon the physical and moral powers of mankind, than the Burmese dominions. . . . The petty acts of tyranny practiced by the subordinate civil officers are a terror to the public, and create between man and man that jealousy and suspicion which destroys confidence and annihilates the best feelings of humanity."* Yet the authority from whom we quote adds, "that, could their public character be formed in a different mold from that in which their system of government has cast it, they would be by no

lying west of Ava, who are divided by the Burmans into *black* and *white* Kulas.

* The Rev. G. H. Hough, in "Friend of India."

means destitute of those elementary principles which combine to form the happiness of civilized society."

The Burmans, like all other nations, have some peculiarities. Among these is to be noted their strong prejudice against persons who are the subjects of natural deformities, or even accidental mutilations. The loss of sight or dumbness procures disrespect, and consequently greatly injures a man's social position. The loss of any limb, even in action, and when defending the rights of his sovereign or country, deprives a Burman of the right of entering the palace inclosure, and is attended with the inevitable consequence of the loss of court favor and preferment."* As a result of this prejudice, the Burmese prisoners taken by the British in 1825, Mr. Crawfurd says, "refused to suffer amputation, or tore off the bandages and bled to death after it was performed. One young man who had submitted to the operation, mistook the nature of it altogether, and conceiving that this was our peculiar mode of treating prisoners of war, with the passive courage and disregard of life so frequent with the people of the East, presented the sound leg for amputation."

As Boodhism forbids the taking of life, the slaying of animals for food is considered sinful; but "although the law forbids the taking of life, no one scruples," Dr. Malcolm remarks, "to eat what is already dead; and there are always sinners enough to keep the sanctimonious supplied with animal food." These latter characters are so fearful lest they should unwarily deprive an insect of existence, that they carefully sweep their seats before sitting down. This fact caused a

* Crawfurd.

flippant writer to remark, that a microscope would be sufficient to convert them.

The Boodhist religion is the national faith of the Burmans. This superstition has prevailed for many centuries. It is supposed to have had its original stronghold in Hindostan, and from thence to have spread over a large portion of the Eastern world, so that it now includes among its votaries not less than one third of the human race.

"The following sketch of Burmese cosmography," says Mr. Crawfurd, "drawn from the writings or conversation of the Burmese chroniclers, was furnished to me by Mr. Judson, and I may safely add that its accuracy may be depended upon:

"A life period, called A-yen-kat, is a revolution of time, during which the life of man gradually advances from ten years to an A-then-kye, and returns again to ten. Sixty-four life periods make one *intermediate period* (An-ta-ra-kat); sixty-four intermediate periods make one quarterly period, which may be so termed because four such periods make one grand period (Ma-ha-kat), a complete revolution of nature. The revolutions of nature, as marked by the various periods, are eternal or infinite. Some grand periods are distinguished by the development of an extraordinary being called a Boodh,* who, though born of earthly parents, attains to the summit of omniscience.† The

* Mr. Judson was accustomed to spell the names "Boodh," and "Gaudama," and in order to conform to his usage, we have deviated from the spelling of Mr. Crawfurd in this article. In his work, according to a very general custom, "Buddha," "Buddhism," and "Gautama" are adopted.

† "Omniscience" is, according to Boodhists, the principal attribute of Gaudama.

present grand period has been favored by four of these personages, whose names are Kau-kri-than, Gau-na-gong, Ka-tha-pa, and Gau-da-ma. The fifth, Boodh, or A-ri-mi-te-ya, is now reposing, according to the best authorities, in one of the lower celestial regions, and will develop himself in due time.

"The communications of all Boodhs previously to Gau-da-ma are now lost. His communications, made at first to his immediate disciples, and by them retained in memory during five centuries more, after his decease agreed upon in several successive general councils (Then-ga-ya-na), and finally reduced to writing on palm leaves, in the Island of Ceylon, in the ninety-fourth year before Christ, and the four hundred and fiftieth after Gau-da-ma, form the present Boodhist scriptures, the only rule of faith and practice. They are comprised in three grand divisions (Pe-ta-kat), which are again subdivided into fifteen, and those into six hundred.

"According to the Boodhist scriptures, the universe is composed of an infinite number of worlds, or Sakya systems. A Sakya system consists of one central Myen-mo, or mount, the surrounding seas and islands, the celestial regions, including the revolving luminaries, and the infernal regions. The earth on which we live is the southernmost of the four grand islands which surround the mount, each of which is again surrounded by four hundred of smaller size.

"The celestial regions consist of six inferior and twenty superior heavens. Of the six inferior heavens, the first occupies the middle, and the second the summit of the Myen-mo mount. The remaining arise above each other in regular gradation. The same remark applies to the superior heavens, which are again distinguished into the sixteen visible and four invisible.

The inferior regions consist of eight hills, one above another, each being surrounded by sixteen smaller hills.

"The universe is replete with an infinity of souls, which have been transmigrating in different bodies from all eternity, ascent or descent in the scale of existence being at every change of state ascertained by the immutable 'mysterious laws of fate,' according to the merit or demerit of the individual. No being is exempt from sickness, old age, and death. Instability, pain, and change are the three grand characteristics of all existence.

"'However highly exalted in the celestial regions, and whatever number of ages of happiness may roll on,' say the Burmans, 'the fatal symptom of a moisture under the armpits will at length display itself.' The mortal being, when this presents itself, must be prepared to exchange the blandishments and dalliance of celestial beauties, for the gridirons, pitchforks, mallets, and other instruments of torture of the infernal regions. The chief end of man, according to the Burmese, is to terminate the fatiguing course of transmigratory existence. This attainment Lord Gaudama made in the eightieth year of his life, and all his immediate disciples have participated in the same happy fate. What remains to the present race of beings is, to aim at passing their time in the regions of men and gods, until they shall come in contact with the next Boodh, the Lord Arimiteya, whom they may hope to accompany to the golden world of nigban, or annihilation. In order to this, it is necessary to keep the commands of the last Boodh; to worship the Boodh, his law, and his priests; to refrain from taking life, from stealing, from adultery, from falsehood, and from

drinking intoxicating liquors; to regard the images and temples of the Boodh the same as himself; to perform acts of worship, and listen to the instructions of religion on the days of the new moon, the full moon, and the quarters; to make offerings for the support of the priests; to assist at funerals, and, in general, to perform all charitable and religious duties.

"In the year 930 after Gaudama, A. D. 386, Boodhagautha transcribed the Boodhist scriptures with an iron pen of celestial workmanship, and brought them by sea to Pugan, the seat of supreme government. The time and manner in which the religion of Gaudama was introduced into the country are not sufficiently ascertained. It subsequently underwent some modification, and was finally established in its present form by King Anan-ra-tha-men-sau, who began to reign in Pugan in the 1541st year after Gaudama, the 359th of the present vulgar era, and A. D. 997."

The priests of Boodh are required to observe a rigid celibacy, but they may relinquish the priesthood when so disposed. They seldom attend to the celebration of any particular service for the people. Some of them occasionally preach, but their chief manner of promoting the supposed good of the people is by their example of compliance with the requirements of their sacred books, and in the instruction of the young. Their prescribed dress is a robe of yellow cloth, which extends to the feet, and thus attired, if strictly observant of the rules laid down, they may be seen with shaven and bared head, which only a fan protects from the sun, and without sandals, daily perambulating the streets, carrying their rice pots, expecting, but not asking, the charity of the people. They take whatever food any are disposed to give, but money they are prohibited

from receiving. They are a numerous class, but have not the influence which is frequently exercised by the religious functionaries of heathen countries.

The pagodas are the frequent scenes of worship. These erections are generally solid, with the exception of a small cavity within, at, or near the foundation, which affords room for treasure, and supposed relics of Gaudama. The images of the divinity are, of course, attached to these structures. These monumental piles are frequently lofty and imposing, and as they greatly abound, are marked features of a Burman landscape. They are mostly built by individuals as acts of merit. Zayats are also frequently devoted to worship, but they are not regarded as exclusively religious buildings. In most cases they are only intended to afford shelter for worshipers.

Images of Gaudama are made of varying size, and so great is the demand for them, that marble, of which they are principally manufactured, is not allowed to be used for other purposes, in the dominions of the Burman monarch. In the worship of the people there is no united celebration. Heathenism is as isolated in its worship as its subjects are selfish in character. At the principal pagodas worshipers may generally be found every morning; and on the appointed days, which occur four times in every moon, larger numbers attend. In worship, as described by Dr. Malcolm, every one brings a present, often a bunch of flowers, or only a few green twigs plucked on the way; but generally the nicest eatables ready cooked, beautiful bunches of flowers, articles of raiment, etc. The worshiper generally kneels behind his gift, and with uplifted hands recites his devotions, often with a string of beads, counting over each repetition. The prayers are commonly

brief. Frequently the worship is comprised in a protestation of a purpose to comply with the five leading commands of the Boodhist religion.

As a code of morals no religion of man surpasses Boodhism. "The Boodhist is forbidden to take the life of the meanest creature; he is prohibited intemperance, incontinence, dishonesty, and falsehood—all vices that are too common in the East; while the smaller failings of anger, pride, covetousness, hypocrisy, etc., are not forgotten. On the other hand, he is encouraged to the practice of all virtues, the forgiveness of injuries, charity, respect to age and character, contentment, gratitude, moderation in all things, patience, cheerfulness—all these he is taught to follow as the ultimatum of his desires." But while this may be said in its favor, some of its tenets tend to repress the better feelings of humanity. A stern believer in the transmigration of souls, the Boodhist regards every physical evil as an affliction deserved either by the sufferer or his ancestors, and consequently gives him little sympathy. It is to this that the prejudice Burmans have against persons who are the subjects of physical defects is ascribable. As a result of Boodhism, likewise, an act of kindness awakens no gratitude; for he who receives a benefit believes that the selfish desire of obtaining merit was the cause of its bestowment, and that the giver is under obligation to him for affording him an opportunity to do himself so good a service.

No better view of Burmans and Boodhism has been written, perhaps, than is presented in the following extract from one of Mrs. A. H. Judson's early letters: "If we were convinced of the importance of missions before we left our native country, we now *see* and *feel* their importance, as well as their practicability. We

could then picture to ourselves the miserable situation of heathen nations; but we now see a whole populous empire, rational and immortal like ourselves, sunk in the grossest idolatry, given up to follow the wicked inclinations of their depraved hearts, entirely destitute of any moral principle, or the least spark of true benevolence. Let those who plead the native innocence and purity of heathen nations visit Burmah. The system of religion here has no power over the heart or restraint on the passions. Though it forbids, on pain of many years' suffering in hell, theft and falsehood, yet I presume to say there is not a single Burman in the country who, if he had a good opportunity, without danger of detection, would hesitate to do either. Though the religion inculcates benevolence, tenderness, forgiveness of injuries, and love of enemies, though it forbids sensuality, love of pleasure, and attachment to worldly objects, yet it is destitute of power to produce the former, or to subdue the latter in its votaries. In short, the Burman system of religion is like an alabaster image, perfect and beautiful in all its parts, but destitute of life."

It was not possible for our missionary, when he arrived in the Burman Empire, to have a full knowledge of either the people or their religion, yet information was within his reach which showed that his enterprise was discouraging and perilous. The history of previous efforts for their evangelization proved very clearly that a missionary in Burmah would have to address men who were "filled with all unrighteousness," and subject to a government the direct influence of which was to demoralize them and perpetuate the depravity it created. It was reasonable to believe, though Boodhism was powerless to re-

form, that it would present a strong barrier in the way of Christianity. A determination to engage in missionary exertions in Burmah, Mr. Judson knew involved self-denial, toil, and hazard. It was certain that years must be devoted to the study of the language, and it was very probable that before the knowledge requisite for usefulness could be attained, that he would fall a victim to the climate. And if knowledge should be attained, and the ordeal of acclimation be safely passed, then he would still be at the mercy of an unprincipled despotism, which might at any moment drive him from the country or take his life. None of these things moved him. He had confidence that without the Lord's permission no sickness could befall him, nor any enemy set on him to hurt him. Furthermore, he knew that it was God's purpose to gather his elect from out of all "nations, kindreds, and tongues," and believing he was in some way to promote this grand triumph of grace, as "a good soldier of Jesus Christ" he was ready to "endure hardness."

Chapter Seventh.

THE CONSECRATION TESTED.

"In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses."—2 Cor. vi. 9.

IN the interval which had occurred from the time Mr. Judson resolved to devote himself to missionary work, the reader will have seen he was called to encounter many difficulties and trials. In permitting these experiences, we may believe that God not only intended to discipline his servant for future hardships, but in the very beginning to prove the strength of his vow to make Christ known among the heathen. After enduring these chastenings he did not relinquish his purpose, but cherished it with unabated ardor. As his consecration was tested before he entered a missionary field, so afterward he found means appointed for the same end. The records of his life for the first few years from the time he entered Burmah show that he was called to meet with trials and discouragements under which, it is probable, not a few would faint. How they were met by Mr. Judson the following pages will show.

In *commencing* a mission, our subject was called to exercise a strong faith. When he went to Rangoon, sufficient time had not elapsed for any answer to be received to the communications he had addressed to Baptist ministers in the United States, and he had, therefore, no means of knowing what might be his prospect

of support. As he remembered the slow and hesitating manner in which others committed themselves to the enterprise of missions, he had strong reason for fear that he might yet be compelled to abandon his effort. In his dilemma it appeared to him that he ought to follow the path which seemed open before him, by qualifying himself for usefulness in the Burman empire, in the hope that time might bring a response which would give assurance that he should dwell in the land, and be fed.

The first object to which our missionary devoted attention was the acquisition of the language. All that he possessed of help was a small part of a grammar which had been executed by Mr. Carey, and a few chapters of the Gospel according to Matthew. The short time which the missionaries who had preceded him had spent in the field caused these guides to be necessarily very imperfect. His acquirements from the first may be regarded as the result of original investigations, and these in a language considered very difficult of attainment. In commencing his studies he had hoped for considerable assistance from Mr. Carey, but that gentleman, having become "shriveled from a missionary into an ambassador,"* was so engrossed by his engagements with the Burman court that he spent very little time in Rangoon. Beyond completing his translation of Matthew's Gospel, and perhaps some parts of others,† he rendered no service after Mr.

* Such was the phraseology used by Dr. Carey in referring to the circumstance: "Language," remarks Dr. F. A. Cox, "which every right-thinking person will know how to appreciate, but which probably very few, even Christian parents, would have employed."

† The fruits of his labors in this department were subsequently lost by the sinking of a vessel, in which his wife and three children perished.

Judson's arrival. The preceptor whom our missionary employed was able and intelligent, but the only languages he understood were his own and the Pali. Mr. Judson was compelled, therefore, in acquiring information in his preliminary studies, to point to various objects and have the teacher pronounce their names in Burmese. Thus did the future translator of God's Word commence the ascent of the hill of knowledge in the Burman language. "Who hath despised the day of small things?"

In Rangoon there were none who shared with Mr. and Mrs. Judson the hopes and desires of a Christian life; but in their loneliness they were not forgetful of the means which the Head of the Church has provided for the edification of its members. Not merely did they think upon His Word, but two months after their arrival, on the 19th of September, they united in commemorating the dying love of Christ at his table. Seldom have disciples of our Lord had more reason to consider the High Priest of their profession, and we may believe that not often has this observance been of greater benefit. "Though but two in number," writes Mrs. Judson, "we feel the command as binding and the privilege as great as though there were more, and we have indeed found it refreshing to our souls." The imagination of some may picture with admiration a group of believers keeping the feast in the Catacombs of Rome, and others may delight to dwell on the first sacramental observance of the Pilgrims in the new world, but rather would we contemplate these two children of New England, rich in faith, hope, and love, taking the sacred symbols in a land where a false religion had held empire before God was manifest in the flesh. As they "went out" after singing their

sacramental hymn, they could gaze in no direction without having proof of its presence and power; yet they had faith to believe that the religion whose institutions they had observed in such loneliness was to assert and demonstrate its supremacy there. In view of all the circumstances, the keeping of the supper in the mission house at Rangoon presents an observance of the institution which for simple grandeur has never been surpassed since, in the guest chamber at Jerusalem, Jesus said, "This do in remembrance of me."

Our missionary had been in Rangoon but little more than a year when the health of Mrs. Judson so seriously declined as to occasion him great disquietude. Toward the end of the year 1814 the symptoms became so alarming that it was felt that, of the means within the compass of human device, a voyage presented the best hope for her recovery. With their work but just begun, it seemed very unadvisable for Mr. Judson to leave the country, and it was therefore decided that Mrs. Judson should proceed alone. It is difficult to conceive to which party the separation was the most painful. The one was to be left without a single individual with whom he could hold religious converse, and the other was to go forth, in feeble health, on a voyage, and, without any one to cheer her, meet the dangers of, and perhaps death on, the sea. Nevertheless, to both this appeared the course which duty indicated, and when they saw the matter in this light, the sacrifice which compliance involved was cheerfully rendered. Mrs. Judson sailed for Madras in the last week of January, 1815. After she was gone, our subject found the best relief for his mind in intense application, and spent his time, from sunrise till late in the evening, reading Burmese and conversing with the

people. Early in April Mrs. Judson, with improved health, was again at his side.

Mr. Judson had spent more than two years in Burmah before he received intelligence of the response of the Baptists in the United States to his appeal; but on the 5th of September, 1815, a packet of documents and letters reached him, which informed him of the organization of a Baptist Missionary Convention, and that one of the first acts of the Board of Managers had been to appoint him their missionary, and to provide funds for his support.

Previous to the formation of this body, which embraced Baptists in all parts of the Union, several leading ministers and others in Massachusetts had organized a society, and proceeded to take measures for sustaining Mr. Judson, whenever he should be abandoned by the Board of Commissioners. Following in the wake of their Pædobaptist brethren, they at first sought to form an alliance with a transatlantic organization, hoping that Mr. Judson might be associated with the brethren at Serampore. The proceedings of the Indian government, they subsequently learned, would prevent the latter; and the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society in England, though expressing the utmost friendship, deemed the union proposed unadvisable, and recommended their American brethren to assume at once the responsibilities of a mission of their own. The Massachusetts society having been formed in anticipation of a more general denominational organization, this object was sought in a general meeting at Philadelphia in 1814, at which, as already stated, the Baptist General Convention was formed.

The assurance of support which the proceedings of the General Convention afforded filled Mr. Judson with un-

usual delight. His emotions at the time may be learned from the following extract from his correspondence:

"These accounts from my dear native land were so interesting as to banish from my mind all thought of study. This general movement among the Baptist churches in America is particularly encouraging, as it affords an additional indication of God's merciful designs in favor of the poor heathen. It unites with all the Bible societies in Europe and America during the last twenty years in furnishing abundant reason to hope that the dreadful darkness which has so long enveloped the earth is about to flee away before the rising sun. Do not the successes which have crowned some missionary exertions seem like the dawn of morning in the East? O that this region of Egyptian darkness may ere long participate in the vivifying beams of light!

"None but one who has had the experience can tell what feelings comfort the heart of a solitary missionary, when, though all the scenes around him present no friend, he remembers and has proof that there are spots on this wide earth where Christian brethren feel that his cause is their own, and pray to the same God and Saviour for his welfare and success. Thanks be to God, not only for 'rivers of endless joy above,' but for 'rills of comfort here below.'"

But while Mr. Judson was cheered by communication from his native land, he had also to hear of "reproaches." The news of his secession from the ecclesiastical body with which he had formerly been connected had made considerable excitement in New England, and was a cause of especial chagrin to the corresponding secretary of the American Board. The most favorable construction of his motives could scarcely be expected from those to whom his course

was offensive, and many hard speeches and unfavorable conjectures were made concerning his motives. Among the statements which reached Mr. Judson was one to the effect that, "shortly before he sailed, he received a reprimand from the board, which so offended him that he resolved to have no more to do with them, and in no way could he escape so honorably as by becoming a Baptist!" This alleged reprimand is generally understood to have been given Mr. Judson on account of his neglect to collect sufficient information, while in London, on certain points on which the board desired light, and his subsequent pertinacity in pressing on its members the immediate appointment of himself and associates for missionary labor. When Mr. Judson learned that it was asserted that he had been called to submit to a reprimand, he sent back his indignant denial of its truth, and declared he "had not the most distant idea that the board ever thought him deserving of one." Dr. Worcester re-asserted that this reprimand was given; and as Dr. Spring was stated to have administered it, Mr. Judson in 1819 wrote to him, avowing that he had no knowledge of it, and requesting him to inform him whether he deemed the charge correct. The same year he thus referred to the conduct of his friends in this matter in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Baldwin: "I am truly sensible of their kindness in taking such a deep interest in my character and welfare. But I must say that the whole affair appears to me exceedingly insignificant in comparison with the great object which now engrosses the faculties of our souls—the introduction of the Messiah's kingdom into the empire of Burmah. O if we may be instrumental of saving a few precious souls from heathen perdition, let our names live in oblivion or

disgrace till the great day! I was sensible, however, that some explanation was necessary; for the Baptists could not be justified in patronizing an exceptionable character." In after years a number of circumstances, and among others a statement of his early and beloved associate, the Rev. Samuel Nott, convinced him that there was "some expression of dissatisfaction;" and though Dr. Worcester was deceased, he considered it due to his memory to state that there was "just ground for *parts* of the statements he had made concerning him." Nevertheless, the charge that he was induced by any admonition he received from the American Board to change his ecclesiastical relations still remains without proof. Those who have read the accounts given by both Mr. Judson and his wife concerning their change of views on the subject of baptism can form a judgment of the conscientiousness of their proceedings. If it can be believed that the pages he wrote at that time were the fruits of ill-humor, it is scarcely possible for man to conceive of greater moral turpitude in any one who ever bore the Christian name. Men of right feeling have long regretted, not only that the lonely missionary was thus calumniated, but that a minister of Christ, whose memory is deservedly held in esteem throughout the land, was betrayed into such uncharitableness.

After receiving intelligence from America, Mr. Judson continued to devote himself to his studies, as ever, with most exemplary diligence. Mrs. Judson thus describes him in his study in one of her letters, and it probably may be regarded as an accurate sketch of our subject during all his early years in Rangoon, for though he was compelled to change his teachers several times he was seldom absent from his post:

"Could you look into a large open room, which we call a veranda, you would see Mr. Judson bent over his table, covered with Burman books, with his teacher at his side, a venerable-looking man, in his sixtieth year, with a cloth wrapped round his middle, and a handkerchief round his head. They talk and chatter all day long without hardly any cessation."

In applying himself to study, Mr. Judson found that a considerable number of words in common use, and a very great proportion of theological terms, were of a *Pali* origin—a dialect of the Sanscrit introduced into the country with the religion of Boodh. Though a dead language, and cultivated only by the learned, yet it seemed indispensable to one who contemplated the work of translation to make acquaintance with it, especially as it was essential to a full knowledge of Burmese. During the latter six months of 1815, therefore, Mr. Judson occupied the greater part of his time in studying and transcribing, in alphabetical arrangement, the Pali Abigdan, or dictionary of the Pali language, affixing to the Pali terms the interpretation in Burman, and again transferring the Burman words to a dictionary, Burman and English. With the close of the year, he brought this tedious work to a close. The number of Pali words thus collected amounted to four thousand three hundred and twenty. The diversion of time for this object was greatly regretted, but the constant occurrence of Pali terms in every Burman book made it absolutely necessary.

As soon as Mr. Judson obtained any use of the language so that he could hope to be understood, he endeavored to converse with Burmans on religious subjects. During the year 1815, like Paul at Rome, he "received all that came in unto him;" but none came

from any real anxiety with respect to spiritual things. Many were attracted by the hope of seeing Mrs. Judson, an English or American woman being a great curiosity. In some instances it was thought that the truth had made a salutary impression, but very soon such hopes were dissipated. At the same time he found in Rangoon the evil effects of a corruption of Christian truth and ordinances. "An old man," writes Mr. Judson, "frequently visited us, and said he wished to be instructed in our way, as he called it. He was of Portuguese descent, though a Burman in his habits. Mr. Judson talked much to him about his depraved nature, and the necessity of a new heart. The last time he came, he inquired if we would not give money to those who were baptized and joined us, when Mr. Judson told him, No. He then asked what it was to have a new heart. Mr. Judson told him—when he replied, that he had got a new heart—that he believed in Christ and the true God. Mr. Judson asked him how long since he felt his heart was new? He said he was a Christian, was baptized in infancy, had always worshiped the true God, and had those feelings Mr. Judson described."

With the commencement of the year 1816, our missionary devoted all his time of study to the Burman language, and with such "pleasure and spirit" that he describes himself as making "rapid progress." In obtaining this acquaintance with the language, Mr. Judson says he met with difficulties that he had no idea of before he entered the work. Some of them are presented in the following extract of a letter to the Rev. Dr. Bolles, of Salem.

"For a European or American to acquire a *living* Oriental language, root and branch, and make it his

own, is quite a different thing from his acquiring a cognate language of the West, or any of the dead languages, as they are studied in the schools. One circumstance may serve to illustrate this. I once had occasion to devote about two months to the study of the French. I have now been above two years engaged on the Burman; but if I were to choose between a Burman and French book to be examined in, without previous study, I should, without the least hesitation, choose the French. When we take up a Western language, the similarity in the characters, in very many terms, in many modes of expression, and in the general structure of sentences, its being in fair print (a circumstance we hardly think of), and the assistance of grammars, dictionaries, and instructors, render the work comparatively easy. But when we take up a language spoken by a people on the other side of the earth, whose very thoughts run in channels diverse from ours, and whose modes of expression are consequently all new and uncouth; when we find the letters and words all totally destitute of the least resemblance to any language we had ever met with, and these words not fairly divided and distinguished, as in Western writing, by breaks, and points, and capitals, but run together in one continuous line, a sentence or paragraph seeming to the eye but one long word; when, instead of clear characters on paper, we find only obscure scratches on dried palm leaves strung together and called a book; when we have no dictionary, and no interpreter to explain a single word, and must get something of the language before we can avail ourselves of the assistance of a native teacher—

'Hoc opus, hic labor est.'"

In connection with the study of Burmese literature,

our missionary at this time began to translate one of the Gospels, and to prepare a summary of Christian truth in the form of a tract. In a letter written to the Rev. Mr. Ward, at Serampore, he remarked: "I am now beginning to translate a little. I am extremely anxious to get some parts of Scripture into an intelligible state fit to be read to Burmans that I meet with. I have nothing yet that I can venture to use. The Portuguese missionaries have left a version of some extracts of Scripture, not very badly executed in regard to language, but full of Romish errors. This, however, will afford me some assistance."

Feeling now confidence enough to address himself to translation, our missionary was encouraged to hope that the time was not far distant when he would be able to "commence" missionary work. For though he had frequently endeavored to make known religious truth in conversation, yet with his imperfect knowledge of Burmese, and the necessary engrossment of his attention in making further acquisitions, he did not think that his time hitherto could be considered as spent in evangelization.

Mr. Judson was permitted to continue his studies for some three months, when all pursuits were interrupted by personal affliction. His translation and tracts "in imagination were already finished and circulating among the natives, when," he writes, "all of a sudden, in the midst of the hot season, which in this country is most severe during the months of March and April, I was seized with a distressing weakness and pain in my eyes and head, which put a stop to all my delightful pursuits, and reduced me to a pitiable state indeed."

On the eleventh of April he was compelled to lay

aside his Burman books, but finding that he could attend to the compilation of a Burmese grammar with "less pain" than he could to any other pursuit, he set himself to the collection of what knowledge he had acquired for this purpose. "And this I was induced to persevere in," he says in a letter to Dr. Staughton, "from the hope that if I was never again able to prosecute the study of the language, the knowledge I have hitherto acquired would not be wholly lost to a successor." This work was completed some three months after.

His affliction became more aggravated in May and June, so that his eyes were so much affected that he could no longer read or write; but still love of his work triumphed over infirmities, and from day to day Mrs. Judson "read to him in Burman, and in that way he was able to continue his studies." This poor consolation concerning his work was soon taken away, and in July he could not even allow her to read to him. In this state of matters a voyage to Bengal was contemplated, for the benefit of the sea air and medical assistance at Calcutta. A passage having been offered Mr. Judson and his wife, free of expense, preparations were made for their departure; but in the interval previous to the time appointed for embarkation, intelligence reached Rangoon that Mr. Hough and family had arrived at Calcutta. Mrs. Judson now resolved to wait their coming, and the vessel being detained somewhat longer, Mr. Judson, by change of diet and exercise on horseback, became so much better that he relinquished the voyage altogether.

The year 1816 had other causes of sorrow to Mr. Judson besides personal affliction. On the seventh of May Mrs. Judson wrote as follows: "Death, regard-

less of our lonely situation, has entered our dwelling, and made one of the happiest families wretched. Our little Roger Williams, our only darling boy, was three days ago laid in the silent grave. Eight months we enjoyed the precious little gift, in which time he had so completely entwined himself around his parents' hearts, that his existence seemed necessary to their own. But God has taught us by afflictions what we would not learn by mercies—that our hearts are his exclusive property, and that whatever rival intrudes, he will tear it away."

The loss of this infant was felt the more severely from the excellence of disposition he manifested. "He was a remarkably pleasant child—never cried except when in pain, and what," writes Mrs. Judson, "we often observed to each other was most singular, he never during his little existence manifested the least anger or resentment at any thing." To his father he was especially endeared, for "he would lie for hours on a seat by his papa's study table, or by the side of his chair on the floor, if he could only see his face."

The third anniversary of the arrival of our missionary occurred at the time that his affliction of his head and eyes was most severe. We may suppose that the progress of the mission came under a review as soon as he was able to give any attention to the subject. He was not able to report any conversions, but his correspondence shows that he was still rich in faith. A letter to his early friend, the Rev. Luther Rice, dated Aug. 3rd, contains the following paragraph:

"If any ask what success I meet with among the natives, tell them to look at Otaheite, where the missionaries labored nearly twenty years, and, not meeting with the slightest success, began to be neglected

by all the Christian world, and the very name of Otaheite began to be a shame to the cause of missions; and now the blessing begins to come. Tell them to look at Bengal also, where Dr. Thomas had been laboring seventeen years (that is, from 1783 to 1800) before the first convert, Krishna, was baptized. When a few converts are once made, then things move on; but it requires a much longer time than I have been here to make a first impression on a heathen people. If they ask again, 'What prospect of ultimate success is there?' tell them, 'As much as that there is an almighty and faithful God who will perform his promises, and no more.' If this does not satisfy them, beg them to let me stay and try it, and to let you come, and to give us our *bread;* or if they are unwilling to risk their bread on such a forlorn hope as has nothing but the WORD OF GOD to sustain it, beg of them, at least, not to prevent others from giving us bread; and if we live some twenty or thirty years, they may hear from us again."

Though he could report no conversions, he rejoiced in his attainments in the language, and took courage for the future; and two days after writing to Mr. Rice, he thus wrote to Dr. Baldwin:

"Is it nothing that an attempt is begun to be made; that in one instance the language is considerably acquired; that a tract is ready for publication which is intelligible and perspicuous, and will give the Burmans their *first ideas* of a Saviour and the way of salvation; that a press and types have now arrived, and a printer is on the way; that a grammar is finished, to facilitate the studies of others, and a dictionary of the language is in a very forward state; and that the way is now prepared, as soon as health permits, to proceed

slowly in the translation of the New Testament? Is it nothing that, just at this time, the monarch of the country has taken a violent hate to the priests of his own religion, and is endeavoring, with all his power, to extirpate the whole order, at the same time professing to be an inquirer after the true religion? Is all this to be set down a mere cipher? It is true that we may desire much more. But let us use what we have, and God will give us more. However, men and money must be forthcoming. Work can not be done without men, and men can not work without bread; nor can we expect the ravens to feed them in ordinary cases."

Mr. Judson had a joyful meeting with Mr. Hough, October 15th. A printing press which had been given to the mission by the Serampore brethren, having reached Rangoon a short time before, immediate measures were taken to prepare an office for its reception, and to get it in operation. By the beginning of 1817 Mr. Judson's first Burman tract was printed. Thus the

> —mightiest of mighty means
> On which the arm of progress leans

began to do service for Christ on Burman soil.

Mr. Judson soon learned that the presence of Mr. Hough, and his powerful auxiliary, though of great value to him, increased rather than lightened his work. In a letter to Dr. Baldwin, dated February 10th, 1817, he says: "Our hands are full from morning till night. I can not for my life translate as fast as brother Hough will print. He has to do all the hard work in the printing-office, without a single assistant, and can not, therefore, apply himself to the study of the language, as is desirable. As for me, I have not an hour to converse

with the natives, or go out and make proclamation of the glorious Gospel."

The press did no small service in the first two months of the year. Under date of March 7th, Mr. Judson says: "Since the beginning of this year, we have printed two tracts, the one a view of the Christian religion, seven pages, one thousand copies; the other a catechism of six pages, 12mo., three thousand copies. After which, finding that we had paper sufficient for an edition of eight hundred of Matthew, we concluded to undertake this one Gospel, by way of trial, and as introductory to a larger edition of the whole New Testament. I am now translating the eleventh chapter, and in the printing-room the third half sheet is setting up."

The day on which Mr. Judson wrote the above account of the printing operations of the missions, his heart was cheered by discovering an indication of Divine blessing in awakening a spirit of inquiry by means of the publications which he had been permitted to issue. He writes: "I have this day been visited by the first inquirer after religion that I have ever seen in Burmah. For although in the course of the last two years I have preached the Gospel to many, and though some have visited me several times, and conversed on the subject of religion, yet I have never had much reason to believe that their visits originated in a spirit of sincere inquiry. Conversations on religion have always been of my proposing, and though I have sometimes been encouraged to hope that truth had made some impression, never till to-day have I met with one who was fairly entitled to the epithet of *inquirer*.

"As I was sitting with my teacher as usual, a Burman of respectable appearance, and followed by a servant,

came up the steps and sat down by me. I asked him the usual question, where he came from, to which he gave no explicit reply, and I began to suspect that he had come from the government-house to enforce a trifling request which in the morning we had declined. He soon, however, undeceived and astonished me by asking, 'How long time will it take me to learn the religion of Jesus?' I replied that such a question could not be answered. If God gave light and wisdom, the religion of Jesus was soon learned; but, without God, a man might study all his life long, and make no proficiency. 'But how,' continued I, 'came you to know any thing of Jesus? Have you ever been here before?' 'No.' 'Have you seen any writing concerning Jesus?' 'I have seen two little books.' 'Who is Jesus?' 'He is the Son of God, who, pitying creatures, came into this world, and suffered death in their stead.' 'Who is God?' 'He is a being without beginning or end, who is not subject to old age and death, but always is.' I can not tell how I felt at this moment. This was the first acknowledgment of an eternal God that I had ever heard from the lips of a Burman. I handed him a tract and catechism, both which he instantly recognized, and read here and there, making occasional remarks to his follower, such as, 'This is the true God; this is the right way,' etc. I now tried to tell him some things about God and Christ and himself, but he did not listen with much attention, and seemed anxious only to get another book. I had already told him two or three times that I had finished no other book, but that in two or three months I would give him a larger one, which I was now daily employed in translating. 'But,' replied he, 'have you not a little of that book done, which you will gra-

ciously give me now?' And I *beginning to think that God's time is better than man's*, folded and gave him the first two half sheets, which contain the first five chapters of Matthew, on which he instantly rose, as if his business was all done, and having received an invitation to come again, took leave.

"Throughout his short stay he appeared different from any Burmans I have yet met with. He asked no questions about customs and manners, with which the Burmans tease us exceedingly. He had no curiosity, and no desire for any thing, but 'MORE OF THIS SORT OF WRITING.' In fine, his conduct proved that he had something on his mind, and I can not but hope that I shall have to write about him again."

Though Mr. Judson had been nearly four years in the country, yet up to the time of the visit of this inquirer he had not *publicly* preached. He believed that in commencing a mission, translations of the Scriptures ought to have his first attention, and to qualify himself for this work, as it was the end of his study, was also the chief good he expected from his intercourse with the people. A letter of Mr. Hough, written in February 1817, contains the following, "Brother Judson has never yet been abroad to preach. He has applied himself constantly to the study of the language, with a view to the translation of the New Testament. We both concur in the opinion, that before *preaching* be undertaken to any considerable degree, some portions of the *Scriptures* should be in circulation." Mr. Judson thus expresses himself on this matter, March 26th, of the same year: "I am sorry that I can not send home more interesting letters. But I am not yet in the way of collecting interesting matter. I have found that I could not preach publicly to any

advantage, without being able, at the same time, to put something into the hands of the hearers. And in order to qualify myself to do this, I have found it absolutely necessary to keep at home, and confine myself to close study for three or four years. I hope, however, after Matthew is finished, to make a more public entrance on my work than has yet been done."

When it is remembered that to those among whom Mr. Judson was a missionary the teachings of Christianity were altogether novel, it will be evident to any reader that his plan of having "something" to "put into the hands of the hearers," was, seeing so many were able to read, a means, under God, for great permanent good. Many of those who might hear a missionary preach in Rangoon it was probable would be strangers, who, having come for purposes of trade or to worship at the great pagoda, would soon be far removed from the place. Some of these would hear but a few remarks, and passing away from the sound of the teacher's voice have most indistinct and erroneous conceptions of Christianity; but by placing in their hands a transcript of God's Word, though in many cases the foolish mind might still be darkened, yet it was reasonable to hope that in some instances the opening of God's Word would give light.

The opinion which Mr. Hough states Mr. Judson and himself entertained of the priority of Scriptures to preaching may seem to some not in accordance with apostolic procedure. It is certain that the diffusion of copies of the Scriptures, either in whole or in part, was not the means by which the apostles extended a knowledge of Christianity, and if they had been disposed to seek its advancement thus, they had not facilities for multiplying transcripts of the sacred records

to any extent. Yet it is to be remembered that no grander or more decisive triumphs of the Gospel in primitive times occurred, than among those to whom the writings of Moses and the prophets were familiar. The success of Peter's preaching on the day of Pentecost is ascribable to Divine influences, but yet the means which were made use of were appeals which recognized a previous acquaintance with the Scriptures on the part of his hearers. They had in general a knowledge of all the Scriptures which as yet had been committed to writing, and this in an important degree caused them to be a people made ready of the Lord.

The missionaries at Serampore, in a letter to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions on the Burman mission, expressed their "hope" that the views of American Christians were "not confined to immediate conversion of the natives by the preaching of the word. In deprecating an exclusive reliance on a publication of the Gospel by the human voice, they wrote: "From all we have seen hitherto, we are ready to think that the dispensations of Providence point to labors that may operate indeed more slowly on the population, but more effectually in the end; as knowledge once put into fermentation will not only influence the part where it is first deposited, but leaven the whole lump. The slow process of conversion in such a mode of teaching the natives may not be so encouraging, and may require in all more faith and patience, but it appears to have been the process of things in the progress of the reformation during the reign of Henry, Edward, Elizabeth, James, and Charles." As Mr. Judson was in frequent correspondence with Dr. Carey and his associates, their views were doubtless familiar to him, and, perhaps, had no small influence in the strong bias he

had for tracts and translations as a means of evangelization. After the visit of his inquirer of March, though the situation of the mission-house was very unfavorable, being removed from general avenues of travel, a few were found to inquire concerning the new religion. But the fear of persecution soon deterred those who might, it was hoped, have proved earnest inquirers. Two, who had seemed to promise especially well, suddenly ceased their visits, and a general fearfulness was apparent on any when they were found by others speaking to the missionary. In this case, while Mr. Judson felt that God could enable serious inquirers to brave all their fears, he began to consider the propriety of visiting the emperor, to see if his consent could be acquired to the measures of evangelization in which the missionaries were engaged. While waiting the issue of events he concluded to distribute the tracts and Gospel which had been printed, and as opportunity occurred to converse with the people, but he determined to devote his chief labors to the compilation of a dictionary, with the hope of rendering service to future missionaries.

The confidence Mr. Judson had of ultimate success in August, 1816, has already been recorded, and it may be well to see what was the state of his mind in the corresponding month of the following year. He had still no knowledge of the conversion of a single Burman, and the people were evidently fearful to hold converse with him; nevertheless, he wrote as follows: "I have no doubt that God is preparing the way for the conversion of Burmah to his Son. Nor have I any doubt that we who are now here are, in some little degree, contributing to this glorious event. This thought fills me with joy. I know not that I shall live to see

a single convert: but, notwithstanding, I feel that I would not leave my present situation to be made a king."

According to this plan, our missionary spent the latter part of the year 1817 principally in an endeavor to complete his dictionary, after which he hoped to engage in more public efforts to do good, but in December an opportunity presented itself for him to visit Chittagong. His long confinement to close study, together with an ardent desire to instruct the Mugs, who had been reported as converted under the labors of the Rev. Mr. De Bruyn, then recently deceased, and as the Burmese was their vernacular, the hope of persuading one or two of them to return with him to Rangoon to act as interpreters induced him to embark. He left home with this end December 25th. After a month's experience with contrary winds—and in view of the season, little hope of any change which would prove favorable—the captain determined to make sail for Madras. The state of Mr. Judson's mind at this time is to be found in the following passages from his correspondence:

"It was with the most bitter feelings that I witnessed the entire failure of my undertaking and saw the summits of the mountains of Arracan, the last indexes of my country, sinking into the horizon, and the ship stretching away to a distant part of India, which I had no wish to visit, and where I had no object to obtain. It was, however, some mitigation of my disappointment, that I should, in all probability, be able to return to Rangoon and resume my missionary business much earlier than if I had visited Chittagong. But even the consolation of this hope was not long allowed me. We had, indeed, a quick passage across

the bay; but on drawing near the Coromandel coast, the wind and current combined to prevent our farther progress, and at the expiration of another month, having for a long time subsisted on nothing scarcely but rice and water, and being now reduced to very short allowance, we concluded to make sail for Masulipatam, a port north of Madras, which we doubted not we should be able to reach in a very few days. In this, again, we were disappointed, and through the unmanageableness of the ship, or the mismanagement of the captain, were detained at sea nearly another month. During this period we were sometimes in great distress, deeming ourselves very fortunate when able to get a bag of rice or a few buckets of water from any native vessel which happened to pass. Once we sent the long-boat to the shore, and obtained a considerable supply of water, which was a great relief. But of rice we could obtain no sufficient supply, and all other articles of provision were quite out of the question."

Instead of a fortnight's voyage, as Mr. Judson had anticipated, twelve weeks passed before he left the vessel. In consequence of the length and discomfort of the passage his former disorder of the head and eyes returned, and after arriving at Masulipatam he was detained by this affliction for some days. The vessel in which he had arrived he found, instead of returning to Rangoon, would probably remain for several months, and as urgent reasons led him to desire to return to his station immediately, he determined to go to Madras, in the hope of finding a conveyance from that port. He was still greatly reduced in strength, and the pain of his head frequently agonizing; but he hired a palanquin and bearers and set out on the journey, though it involved three hundred miles' travel. He arrived at his

destination April 8th, 1818. With his mission uppermost in his mind, he says: "My first aim was, of course, the beach, and my first inquiry a vessel bound to Rangoon." Fresh troubles awaited him, and he adds: "My chapter of disappointments was not yet finished. No vessel had sailed for Rangoon this year, and such, it was understood, was the unsettled state of the Burman country, that none would probably venture for some time to come."

This posture of affairs, conjoined with the state of his health, was trying in the extreme. He was unable to study, and incapable of any exertion. He had no intelligence from Rangoon, and was unable to relieve the anxiety he knew Mrs. Judson must be under concerning him; but his habitual confidence in God triumphed over all fears and doubts concerning the wisdom of this appointment. He wrote: "It is wise, though blindness can not apprehend. It is best, though unbelief is disposed to murmur. Be still, my soul, and know that He is God."

While he remained in Madras, our missionary experienced great kindness and hospitality in the families of the Rev. Mr. Thompson, chaplain, and the Rev. Mr. Loveless, missionary, and received such proofs of Christian affection from many dear friends, that he felt parting with them very painful, though his detention in Madras had, in other respects, been almost insupportable. On the 20th of July he embarked in a small vessel for home, and on the 2nd of the following month she was safely anchored at the mouth of the Rangoon river.

Tidings of an alarming character reached him very soon after the vessel was moored. During his absence, certain Portuguese priests, who had been resident at

Ava, had been commanded to leave the empire. On their arrival at Rangoon, Mr. Hough was suspected to be of their number, and was accordingly summoned to give assurance that he was not, and detained for three days on various flimsy pretexts for purposes of extortion. About this time the cholera appeared among the native population, and day by day the death-drum made known the decease of its victims. In addition to all this, the rumor of war with the British had gained strength, and with a government like the Burmese it was known that foreigners must look for barbarities and indignities. At the time of Mr. Judson's arrival nearly all the foreigners had left, and Mr. and Mrs. Hough were on board ship intending to depart for Bengal. As nothing had been heard of Mr. Judson since his departure six months before, Mrs. Judson at one time had consented to accompany them; but the vessel having been delayed for some days, she decided to return to the mission-house and wait till tidings arrived concerning him. She was alone in this large house when intelligence reached Rangoon of the arrival of the vessel from Madras with Mr. Judson. Their re-union after so lengthened a separation was an occasion of devout gratitude, heightened by the fact of its occurrence in the midst of troubles, which, if the worst fears were realized, gave them hope of bearing each other companionship.

On Mr. Judson's arrival he endeavored to persuade Mr. and Mrs. Hough to remain, but without success, and after several delays had occurred they finally embarked. At the same time Mr. Hough took with him the press and all the implements of the printing-office.

The disposition which the authorities manifested at this time was calculated to cause considerable concern.

Mr. Judson fully realized the danger, and in a letter to Dr. Staughton shows how precarious he felt the situation of the mission to be. "One malicious intimation to the king would occasion our banishment, and banishment, as the Burmans tell us, is no small thing, being attended with confiscation of all property, and such various abuses as would make us deem ourselves happy to escape with our lives."

Thus exposed, many would have left the country while it was possible to do so without peril. But Mr. Judson was a "strict constructionist" of the Bible, and as he read, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another," he determined to wait till the measures of the authorities assumed such a form that, without any misgiving, he could follow the course his Lord indicated. The situation, he admitted, might appear somewhat alarming to a person accustomed to the liberty and safety of a free government. "But," he remarks, "let us remember that it has been the lot of the greater part of mankind to live under a despotic government, devoid of all security for life or property a single moment. Let us remember that the Son of God chose to become incarnate under the most unprincipled and cruel despot that ever reigned. And shall any disciple of Christ refuse to do a little service for his Saviour under a government where his Saviour would not have refused to live and die for his soul? God forbid. Yet faith is sometimes weak—flesh and blood sometimes repine. O for grace to strengthen faith, to animate hope, to elevate affection, to embolden the soul, to enable us to look danger and death in the face; still more, to behold, without repining, those most dear to us suffering fears and pains, which we would gladly have redoubled on ourselves, if it would exonerate them."

In this as in other trials he felt assured of the prayers of the churches of Christ, and adds: "We feel encouraged by the thought that many of the dear children of God remember us at the mercy seat. To your prayers I desire once more to commend myself—the weakest, the most unqualified, the most unworthy, and the most unsuccessful of all missionaries."

Amid discouraging prospects Mr. Judson had the privilege of welcoming two new associates in the persons of Messrs. Wheelock and Coleman, who arrived with their wives in Rangoon September 19th. In every individual of this company he was greatly delighted. But the feeble health of both of these brethren was soon a cause of concern, and greatly diminished the happiness he had enjoyed in their arrival. Before they had been in Rangoon a week both suffered from bleeding at the lungs, a complaint to which they had been somewhat subject previous to leaving the United States.

The unsuccessful attempt Mr. Judson made to visit Chittagong led to an absence from Rangoon of nearly eight months. On his return he determined to resume his studies with all diligence, and in a letter to Dr. Staughton, dated February 20th, 1819, he says: "My time for the last few months has been divided between reading Burman, writing some portions of Scripture, and other things preparatory to public worship, holding conversations on religion, and superintending the erection of a zayat (as the Burmans call it), or place of public resort, where we intend to spend much of our time, and where we hope to have stated worship, or, at least, to try the practicability of such an attempt under this government."

As the opening of this zayat may be considered as

the commencing of a new era in Mr. Judson's missionary exertions, we may here best draw this chapter to a close. The letter from which an extract is given above bears a date which shows it to have been written just seven years from the day the Caravan left Salem, and if the time of Mr. Judson's absence from his station, of which a record is given in this chapter, be deducted, he will be found to have spent a period of time at Rangoon which very slightly exceeds five years. Let the reader imagine the enumeration our missionary could have made had he at this time sat down to "reckon" his sufferings since he became a resident of this city of Boodhists. Heavy personal afflictions had befallen him, attended by months of weariness. He had known an affecting bereavement, and two long and painful separations from his companion. Added to this, he had met with no small peril and privation on the sea, and distant as he was from his native land, he was not too far removed to hear of "hard speeches and unfavorable conjectures" concerning himself, by brethren whom he had delighted to honor. Yet more: his first colleague had left him when his presence seemed most important, and the printing press, the arrival of which had caused him so much delight, was gone to Bengal. He had now new associates, but their feeble health caused him to entertain little hope that they would live long enough to be useful among the heathen, and his every effort to make known the Gospel he was fearful might be followed by a sentence of banishment. Such is the account he could have given of his sufferings, perils, and prospects. And what had been his success? Tracts and Scriptures had been circulated, but though seven years had passed since he left his native land,

he did not know that one Boodhist had been brought to the Eternal God. After so long a period, and with not one instance of conversion, it may be asked, "Was he not disheartened?" His own words at this time will show: "You want to hear of some poor, benighted Burman brought to taste that the Lord is gracious, but O, not more than I want to speak of it. I hope, I do hope, my dear sir, that we shall both one day be gratified."*

Thus was our missionary's consecration tested. After trials in various forms we find him humble, believing, and hopeful. Well did he in these first years approve himself as a minister of God, "in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses."

* Letter to Dr. Staughton.

Chapter Eighth.

FRUITS OF TRUTH AND DESPOTISM.

"A great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries:—1 Corinthians xvi. 9.

THE faith of our missionary, which the previous chapter shows, God had allowed to be proved by so long a period in which no evidence of success could be remarked, we have seen suffered no diminution with the lapse of years. His "sole object on earth" was still "to introduce the religion of Jesus Christ into the empire of Burmah." Though many would have been discouraged, he felt impelled to adopt fresh measures to diffuse the good seed of the kingdom.

The means of evangelization on which he placed reliance were "translating, printing, and distributing the Holy Scriptures, preaching the Gospel, circulating religious tracts, and promoting the instruction of native children."*

The first of these instrumentalities it was his privilege to employ to some extent in the years 1817 and 1818. He had hoped to employ the second, in connection with the first, in the latter year, but his lengthened absence prevented the realization of his purpose. It was not till 1819 that he was able to undertake this important work. In the beginning of that year, as already seen, he devoted much time to the erection of a zayat, trusting that under its shelter he would have the privi-

* Articles of agreement, adopted by Messrs. Judson and Hough, 1816

lege of prosecuting his labors in this department.* In erecting the building it was his delight to contemplate the results which might, with the Divine blessing, be identified with it. In a letter to Dr. Bolles he thus wrote: "And should this zayat prove to be a Christian meeting-house, the first erected in this land of atheists for the worship of God—a house where Burmans, who now deny the very existence of Deity, shall assemble to adore the majesty of heaven, and to sing with hearts of devotion the praises of the incarnate Saviour—— But the thought seems too great to be realized. Can *this* darkness be removed? Can *these* dry bones live? On thee, Jesus, all our hopes depend. In thee all power is vested, even power to make sinful creatures instrumental in enlightening the heathen."

The humble building thus erected was situated on one of the public roads, which, on account of its being lined on both sides with pagodas, is called Pagoda Road. Some two miles beyond is the Shway Dagon pagoda, which, being believed to contain six or eight hairs of Gaudama, is considered the most sacred in the country.† As the zayat was thus in the way of wor-

* As some of our readers may not have a clear conception of a zayat, we insert a description of this building as given by Mrs. Wheelock at the time it was erecting. "A zayat somewhat resembles an American shed, and is made of bamboos. The one now building will be much cooler, and better than the generality of zayats. It is to be made partly of bamboos, the top only covered with leaves." It was divided in three parts. The first division, which was one third of the whole, was open to the road, and set apart for occupancy by Mr. Judson, for conversation with passers-by. The more central division was made entirely of boards, being intended for worship on the Sabbath, and for a school conducted by Mrs. Judson during the week. The third division was a sort of entry-way leading to the mission-house, situated in the rear, and facing on another road.

† As the festivals connected with this pagoda will be found referred

Page 192. GREAT PAGODA AT RANGOON.

shipers, it was reasonable to hope that many would call and listen to the word of life.

With the 4th day of April, a new and, Mr. Judson hoped, "important era" in the mission was commenced by the opening of the new building for public worship. A letter to Dr. Baldwin affords some pleasing information on this subject:

RANGOON, *April* 30, 1819.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—You will probably have heard of our undertaking to build a zayat, or place of Burman worship, on one of the principal roads. We have had worship in it several Sundays, though it was not wholly completed and laid open to the road till within a few days. Last Sunday we had an assembly of about thirty, many of whom heard with decent attention. During the past week I have spent my time on the floor, in the front part of the zayat, receiv-

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to oftentimes in the following pages, a few words concerning the edifice, of which also an illustration is given, will be acceptable to our readers. Mrs. Judson has the following in one of her letters regarding it. "To give an accurate description of this noble edifice requires an abler pen than mine; and perhaps a better description of its construction and dimensions can not be given than that which Colonel Symmes has given of a similar one at Pegu. The beauty and variety of its appendages, however, are far superior. After having ascended the flight of steps, a large gate opens, when a wild fairy scene is abruptly presented to view. It resembles more the description we sometimes have in novels of enchanted castles or ancient abbeys in ruins than any thing we ever met with in real life. The ground is completely covered with a variety of ludicrous objects, which meet the eye in every direction, interspersed with the banyan, cocoa-nut, and toddy trees. Here and there are large open buildings which contain huge images of Gaudama, sometimes in a sitting, sometimes in a sleeping position, surrounded by his priests and attendants in the act of worship, or listening to his instructions. Before him are erected small altars, on which offerings of fruits, flowers, etc., are laid. Large images of elephants, lions, angels, and demons, together with a number of indescribable objects, all assist in filling up the picturesque scene. To this pagoda, this monument of folly and superstition, the inhabitants of the neighboring towns and villages resort once in a year. It is considered peculiarly meritorious to worship at this pagoda."

ing as many as came in, and preaching to them the Gospel of the kingdom. It has indeed been a busy week; conversing with visitors of all sorts, studying occasionally with my teacher, and preparing for the approaching Sunday, have completely filled up every hour. I sincerely hope that it may prove a specimen of many weeks of my remaining life.

Among the many with whom I have conversed, there are three or four instances which are very encouraging, though too premature to allow much sanguine expectation. We can not help feeling that God has a people in this benighted land, and when one Burman after another sits down by me and listens attentively to the news of a precious Saviour, and comes again and again, this feeling is necessarily strengthened. Mrs. Judson has also recommenced her female meetings, which were discontinued during the time of our government difficulties several months ago, and she has lately been much encouraged by some promising appearances. We have trials, however, which must be mentioned with our encouragements. We have suffered a severe disappointment in expecting the aid of our brother Wheelock. The decided progress which his disorder (consumption of the lungs) has lately made, precludes all hope of his recovery, though he may survive some months. The most we can say is, that while he lives there is hope, because in this disorder a person sometimes recovers after he has been given up by all his friends.* Thus we feel very weak. We look to God for help and strength, and we know that He can make his strength perfect in our weakness. Yours, respectfully,

A. JUDSON.

According to Mr. Judson's journal, his daily teaching in the zayat commenced Lord's day, April 25th. He states: "I took my seat on the floor in the open porch, under some solemn impression of the great responsibility attached to my new mode of life." On this first day a young man strolled into the zayat, on whose mind his words seemed to take considerable

* Mr. Wheelock continued to decline in health, and left Rangoon in August, 1819, for Calcutta, in the hope that medical assistance might be obtained which would prove the means of restoring him. His disease, however, had made great progress, and speedily affected his brain. After a delirium of several days he threw himself overboard, and the vessel was at the time making such headway that it was impossible to take measures for his rescue sufficiently soon to be of avail.

hold; and as he was "ready to drink in the truth without the numberless cavils and objections which are so common among the Burmans," our missionary writes, "I feel considerable attachment to this young man, and my heart goes forth to the mercy-seat in behalf of his precious soul." During the week, on the day the above letter was written to Dr. Baldwin, he visited the zayat again, and seemed desirous of hearing as "much as possible about religion." This was an agreeable surprise. "Several others," he writes, "came and went."

Among those who "came and went," and excited so little remark as to occasion no record in Mr. Judson's journal, was one concerning whom his hopes of good in Burmah were soon to be realized. The first entry respecting him in the journal is on May 1st: "Burman day of worship; of course many visitors; among the rest, Moung* Nau, a man who was with me several hours yesterday, but, from his silence and reserve, excited little attention or hope. To-day, however, I begin to think better of him." On the Lord's day following, this quiet and modest inquirer was present at worship, and three days after, May 5th, the journal bears the following: "I begin to think that the grace of God has reached his heart. He expresses sentiments of repentance for his sins, and faith in the Saviour. The substance of his profession is, that from the darknesses, and uncleannesses, and sins of his whole life, he has found no other Saviour but Jesus Christ—nowhere else can he look for salvation; and therefore he proposes to adhere to Christ, and worship him all his life long. It seems almost too much to be-

* "Moung" is a title used to designate a young or middle-aged man.

lieve that God has begun to manifest his grace to the Burmans, but this day I could not resist the delightful conviction that this is really the case. PRAISE AND GLORY BE TO HIS NAME FOREVERMORE. Amen."

The next day these hopes were confirmed. He writes: "Moung Nau was again with me a great part of the day. He appears to be slowly growing in religious knowledge, and manifests a teachable, humble spirit, ready to believe all that Christ has said, and obey all that he has commanded. He is thirty-five years old; no family, middling abilities, quite poor, obliged to work for his living, and therefore his coming day after day to hear the truth affords stronger evidence that it has taken hold of his mind. May the Lord graciously lead his dark mind into all the truth, and cause him to cleave inviolably to the blessed Saviour."

About a week afterward, this humble convert declared himself a disciple of Christ, in presence of a considerable number of persons, and so strongly was he grounded in the principles of the Gospel, that May 15th the journal contains the following: "Moung Nau has been with me all day, as well as yesterday. He is anxious to be received into our company, and thinks it a great privilege to be the first among the Burmans in professing the religion of Jesus Christ. He has been told plainly that he has nothing to expect in this world but persecution, and perhaps death; but he thinks it better to die for Christ and be happy hereafter, than to live a few days and be forever wretched. All the members of the mission have, at different times, conversed with him, and are satisfied that a work of grace is begun in his heart."

On the 6th of June he applied for baptism, giving,

in a letter he presented to the members of the mission, an admirable summary of Christian faith and hope. On Lord's day, June 27th, "after the usual course of Burman worship in the afternoon, and some additional exercises suited to the occasion," Mr. Judson says, "we proceeded to a large tank (artificial pond) in the vicinity, and there, just by an enormous image of Gaudama, which seemed to scowl on the deed, we administered the ordinance of Christian baptism to the first Burman convert."*

Thus, before the image of that divinity to whom he had often done homage, and in the face of persecution, which it was believed was certain to follow an espousal of the new religion, did Moung Nau make a profession in which more eloquently than with the tongue he seemed to say, "What have I to do any more with idols?" Well might our missionary write: "O may it prove the beginning of a series of baptisms in the Burman Empire which shall continue in uninterrupted succession to the end of time!"

The following Lord's day fell on the 4th of July, a day ever precious to American citizens. Our missionary rejoiced, doubtless, to think of the privileges of his native country, but no allusion to the anniversary of freedom occurs in his journal. His mind appears to have been occupied with another celebration: "We have had the pleasure of sitting down, for the first time, to the Lord's table with a converted Burman, and it was my privilege—a privilege to which I have been looking forward with desire for many years—to administer the Lord's Supper in two languages." With this pleasing incident he closed his journal for dispatch

* Letter to one of the editors of the "American Baptist Magazine."

to the United States. Probably he never felt so great a pleasure in any accounts he sent to the board as in those which his communication at this time contained.

During the progress of the case which we have watched to so promising a stage, "several hundreds heard more or less of the Gospel, and some individuals," Mr. Judson says, "have been led into a serious examination of the Christian religion, and a speculative rejection of their own; but there is no one that gives us satisfactory evidence of conversion but Moung Nau."

Though no case of conversion could be reported, yet in June, Moung Thah-lah appeared very "thoughtful and teachable." In a visit to the zayat toward the end of the month, our missionary writes: "On being asked the state of his mind, he replied, with some feeling, that he and all men were sinners, and exposed to future punishment; that according to the Boodhist system, there was no way of pardon; but that according to the religion which I taught, there was not only a way of pardon, but a way of enjoying endless happiness in heaven; and that, therefore, he wanted to believe in Christ. I stated to him, as usual, that he must think much on the love of Christ, and pray to God for an enlightened and loving heart, and then gave him a form of prayer suited to his case." About a month after, Mr. Judson had some conversation with him on his spiritual state, which indicated his desire to believe and embrace Christianity; but he was filled with fears that his weakness and sinfulness incapacitated him for keeping its holy precepts as becomes a professed disciple. A month after, having in the interim had many conversations with him, Mr. Judson was "almost settled" in his mind that he was really a renewed man, and August 24th, in his journal, we

have the record: "Another conversation with Moung Thah-lah, which at length forces me to admit the conviction that he is a real convert; and I venture to set him down the second disciple of Christ among the Burmans. He appears to have all the characteristics of a new-born soul, and though rather timid in regard to an open profession, has, I feel satisfied, that love to Christ which will increase and bring him forward in due time." A knowledge of the intolerant character of the government was sufficient at all times to awaken fear. At this time a new king having recently taken the throne, who was reported more favorable to Boodhism than his predecessor, there was reason to believe that those who made a renunciation of the established religion could scarcely evade persecution. The fear of this proved a great check to religious inquiry.

While Mr. Judson had sat in that part of the zayat opening to the road, to teach the people, Mrs. Judson had been within engaged in the work of instruction as connected with a school. The oldest member of this school, by name Moung Byaa, was the next person concerning whose conversion our missionary could entertain hope. This man, being unable to attend school by day, had come by night to learn to read. The first thing he read without spelling was the catechism, which he committed to memory as he read it. He soon began more particularly to inquire concerning Christianity, and at length obtained such evangelical discoveries, and received the humbling truths of the Gospel in a manner which encouraged the hope that the Spirit of God had begun to teach him. Moung Ing also about this time gave evidence of anxiety for religious knowledge, and our missionary was induced to believe a work of grace was begun in his soul.

In all these cases Mr. Judson was very particular to exalt the Bible as the only authority for the guidance of those who desired to be the disciples of Christ. He did not wish to teach dogmatically the smallest part of Christian duty. An incident which shows this beautiful trait of character may be recorded concerning the two converts just referred to. At the time of their conversion persecution was anticipated, and in October they requested to be baptized, but in "*private.*" So dark was the cloud resting over the mission, that Mrs. Judson wrote at the time: "Instead of wondering that they were desirous of being baptized in private, we felt it was a strong evidence in their favor that they should desire baptism at all under existing circumstances." Mr. Judson, however, advised them, "as they had so little love to Christ as not to dare to die for his cause, to wait and reconsider the matter." A few days after, they again presented their request for baptism. The memorial they submitted has the following for its concluding paragraph: "On search-in the SCRIPTURES for ancient rules and customs, it does not appear that John and other baptizers administered baptism at any particular time, or day, or hour. We therefore venture to beg of the two teachers* that they will grant that on the 6th day of the wane of the Tauzoungmong moon (November 7th), at six o'clock at night, we may this once receive baptism at their hands." This application was not made in vain. Mr. Judson writes: "We spent some hours in again discussing the subject with them and with one another. We felt satisfied that they were humble disciples of Jesus, and were desirous of receiving this ordinance

* Mr. Colman was at this time associated with Mr. Judson.

purely out of regard to his command, and their own spiritual welfare; we felt that we were all equally exposed to danger, and needed a spirit of mutual candor, and forbearance, and sympathy; we were convinced that they were influenced rather by desires of avoiding unnecessary exposure, than by that sinful fear which would plunge them into apostasy in the hour of trial; and when they assured us that, if actually brought before government, they could not think of denying their Saviour, we could not conscientiously refuse their request, and therefore agreed to have them baptized to-morrow, at sunset."

In accordance with this resolution, on the following day, being the first Sabbath in November, "about half an hour before sunset, the two candidates came to the zayat, accompanied by three or four of their friends; and after a short prayer," Mr. Judson writes, "we proceeded to the spot where Moung Nau was formerly baptized. The sun was not allowed to look upon the humble, timid profession. No wondering crowd crowned the overshadowing hill. No hymn of praise expressed the exultant feelings of joyous hearts. Stillness and solemnity pervaded the scene. We felt, on the banks of the water, as a little, feeble, solitary band; but perhaps some hovering angels took note of the event with more interest than they witnessed the late coronation; perhaps Jesus looked down on us, pitied and forgave our weaknesses, and marked us for his own; perhaps, if we deny him not, he will acknowledge us another day, more publicly than we venture at present to acknowledge him."

On the 10th of November a prayer-meeting was held by Mr. Judson and his Burman converts, and the following Lord's day the "*three converts repaired to the*

zayat and held a prayer-meeting of their own accord!" Thus did the working of Divine principles in those who were the first fruits of Burmah to Christ cheer the heart of the missionary.

But he was to see *other* fruits. Though for several months after the opening of the zayat the government manifested no decided hostility, yet the fear of its interference had occasioned him great disquietude. On the 1st of November he vacated this building, having begun to query whether it was prudent to go on boldly in proclaiming a new religion, at the hazard of incensing the government, and drawing down such persecution as might deter all who knew him from inquiry. The immediate reason for the adoption of this course was the attitude of opposition assumed by the viceroy, in the case of a teacher of considerable distinction, named Moung Shwa-gnong. This man commenced visiting the zayat in August, and though at first he seemed "a complete Proteus in religion," yet afterward he became evidently very favorable to Christianity. But the great adversary was not ready to yield a man of his abilities to Christ without stirring up opposition. "Soon after he began to manifest an open attachment to us," Mr. Judson writes, "Satan became unusually disturbed, and sent one of his faithful servants to the viceroy with a complaint that our friend had renounced the religion of his country. The viceroy said, 'Inquire further;' and this portentous sentence, implying that a renunciation of the established religion would not pass with impunity, carried such terror to the heart of our poor Nicodemus, that he directly fled to his accuser and almost forsook us. This little circumstance, strange as it may seem to one living under a free government, spread dismay

among all our acquaintance; and for above a month we have been nearly deserted by all, except those who have actually joined us."*

In addition to the viceroy's opposition, as shown in the affair just narrated, about the same time he manifested his dislike to the missionaries. The following record from Mr. Judson's journal affords an instance:

"*November* 26.—On taking our usual ride this morning, to bathe in the mineral tank, we were accosted, on one of the pagoda roads, by the Mangen teacher, and peremptorily forbidden to ride there in future on pain of being beaten. On our return we inquired into the affair, and find that the viceroy has really issued an order, at the instigation of this teacher, that henceforth no person wearing a hat, shoes, or umbrella, or mounted on a horse, shall approach within the sacred ground belonging to the great pagoda, which ground extends on some sides half a mile, and comprises all the principal roads; so that in future we must take a circuitous route in the woods, if we wish to visit our usual place of resort. This consideration, however, is very trifling, compared with another. The viceroy's order is quite unprecedented in Rangoon, and indicates a state of feeling on the subject of religion very unfavorable to our missionary designs."

Under the previous monarch, missionaries had less to fear, because of his known dislike to the Boodhist priests, toward whom he had "frequently manifested his sentiments in such acts of persecution as kept the religion in a low and declining state. On his death the hopes of the priests and their adherents began to revive, and every discovery of the new emperor's friendly

* Letter to Dr. Baldwin, December 9th, 1819.

disposition tended to restore the religious establishment of the country to its former privileges and rank."*

As a consequence of his influence, the devout throughout the land were mad on their idols, and the erection of pagodas and the worship of Gaudama occupied more attention than ever. "In a word," says Mr. Judson in a letter to Dr. Baldwin, "such is the state of things, that though there are many, I am certain, who have some desire to inquire further into the Christian religion, they are afraid to come near us."

The course deemed expedient in this posture of affairs he unfolds in the same letter: "Brother Colman and myself have therefore concluded to follow your advice, by going up to Ava, and laying our business before the monarch. We have some hope that the Lord will incline him to hold out to us the golden scepter, like another Ahasuerus, and become a protector of the infant cause. But it is almost too great a favor to hope for. And yet this favor we must obtain, or relinquish some of our dearest and most sacred hopes. O what a trying case! None can know or experience the uncertainties and anxieties of our present situation. But we sometimes rest on the Saviour, and derive sweet consolation from the assurance that our Jesus will do all things well."

The views Mr. Judson entertained on this subject are further exhibited in a joint letter, sent to the corresponding secretary, by Mr. Colman and himself: "By this proceeding we hope to discover the real feelings and sentiments of the emperor. We hope to ascertain, as distinctly as possible, whether he is devoted to Boodhism, or has imbibed in any degree the

* Letter to Dr. Staughton.

opinions of his grandfather, and disguises them at present from motives of policy merely. If the former be the case, he will prohibit our missionary work, and we shall be under the necessity of leaving his dominions. If the latter be the case, and he be, in any measure, pleased with the Christian system, he will, we hope, give us at least such private encouragement as will enable us to prosecute our work without incurring the charge of rashness and enthusiasm."

The purpose of going to the "golden feet" was not a sudden thought. More than two years before it was the subject of correspondence with Mr. Judson's American friends, and his course in this matter was indorsed by the parties under whom he acted as manifesting "a prudence which the board can not but commend," and "a resolution which, unsupported by the principles of the Gospel, must have failed."

There are those who consider this act one of doubtful propriety. When the tree of life is planted under the shadow of worldly power, it is almost certain that embarrassments will follow. The circumstances under which Mr. Judson resolved to visit the golden feet, were, however, very peculiar. His case has no parallel in the apostolic records. If persecuted as the apostles were, his course would have been clear; but no man had scourged or imprisoned him, and none had forbidden him to speak in the name of Jesus. His simple difficulty was, that he could not make known the Gospel; for the people, terror-stricken by the thought of exposing themselves to the vengeance of the ruling powers, were afraid to listen to his words. If an appeal to a ruler for relief from an unjust proscription necessarily admits his right to inflict or continue it, the course commonly pursued by Christian men has been very er-

roneous. With such a view, the nonconformists of Great Britain ought never to have presented petitions for the removal of disabilities connected with dissent; and Roger Williams, though called the apostle of religious liberty, must have been ignorant of its first principles; otherwise he would not have remonstrated with the general court on the subject of its intolerance. In India, at the beginning of the present century, the philological attainments of Dr. Carey secured him considerable influence, and he was sometimes successful in obtaining liberty for missionaries to settle in the company's territories; but it can scarcely be thought that when he made such applications he implied any right on the part of the company to countermand their commission to disciple all nations. It was owing, in great measure, to the petitions which the Christian public of Great Britain presented to Parliament, that the intolerance of the East India Company was overcome. Have our missionaries been wrong in using liberties thus "asked" for?

Whatever opinions may be entertained concerning the course Mr. Judson and his colleague adopted, all will admire the spirit they manifested. Their joint letter, announcing their purpose to go to the golden feet, has the following: "In approaching the throne, we desire to have a simple dependence on the presence and power of our Saviour, and a single eye to his glory. We have, indeed, no other ground of hope; we ought to have no other view. We trust that, if the set time to favor Burmah is come, He who is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working will open a wide and effectual door for the promulgation of divine truth. But if the Lord has other purposes, it becomes us meekly to acquiesce, and willingly to sacrifice our

dearest hopes to the Divine will. We rest assured that, in either case, the perfections of God will be displayed, and desire to be thankful that we are allowed to be in any way instrumental in contributing to that display."

Mr. Judson and his associate embarked December 21st. Among the company on board the boat, which numbered sixteen besides themselves, were two of the native converts. Moung Shwa-gnong, who had been invited to accompany them, declined; but "just as we were pushing off," writes Mr. Judson, "we saw his tall form standing on the wharf. He raised his hand to his head, and bade us adieu, and continued looking after the boat until a projecting point shut Rangoon and all its scenes from our view."

Thus losing sight of the town where he had so long labored, our missionary gave expression to his thoughts and desires in the following very touching language: "When shall we redouble this little point? Through what shall we pass ere the scene now snatched away be re-presented? The expedition on which we have entered, however it may terminate, is unavoidably fraught with consequences momentous and solemn beyond all conception. We are penetrating into the heart of one of the great kingdoms of the world, to make a formal offer of the Gospel to a despotic monarch, and through him to the millions of his subjects. May the Lord accompany us, and crown our attempt with the desired success, if it be consistent with his wise and holy will."

The Irrawaddy was known to be greatly infested with robbers, but though on the way our missionaries heard of depredations and murders committed by them, they escaped all attacks. Some of the places they passed

greatly interested them. Concerning the city of Pugan Mr. Judson made the following record in his journal:

"*January* 18.—Took a survey of the splendid pagodas and extensive ruins in the environs of this once famous city. Ascended as far as possible some of the highest edifices, and at the height of one hundred feet, perhaps, beheld all the country round covered with temples and monuments of every sort and size; some in utter ruin, some fast decaying, and some exhibiting marks of recent attention and repair. The remains of the ancient wall of the city stretched beneath us. The pillars of the gates, and many a grotesque, decapitated relic of antiquity, checkered the motley scene. All conspired to suggest those elevated and mournful ideas which are attendant on a view of the decaying remains of ancient grandeur; and though not comparable to such ruins as those of Palmyra and Balbec (as they are represented), still deeply interesting to the antiquary, and more deeply interesting to the Christian missionary. Here, about eight hundred years ago, the religion of Boodh was first publicly recognized and established as the religion of the empire. Here, then, Ah-rah-han, the first Boodhist apostle of Burmah, under the patronage of King Anan-ra-tha-men-zan, disseminated the doctrines of atheism, and taught his disciples to pant after annihilation as the supreme good. Some of the ruins before our eyes were probably the remains of pagodas designed by himself. We looked back on the centuries of darkness that are past. We looked forward, and Christian hope would fain brighten the prospect. Perhaps we stand on the dividing line of the empires of darkness and light. O shade of Ah-rah-han, weep over thy falling fanes; retire from the

scenes of thy past greatness. But thou smilest at my feeble voice. Linger, then, thy little remaining day. A voice mightier than mine, a still, small voice, will ere long sweep away every vestige of thy dominion. The churches of Jesus will soon supplant these idolatrous monuments, and the chanting of the devotees of Boodh will die away before the Christian hymn of praise."

Mr. Judson arrived at Amarapoora January 25th, 1820. Two days after, Mr. Colman and himself obtained an audience with his majesty. The impressions and events of this presentation at court are described in Mr. Judson's journal: "The spacious extent of the hall, the number and magnitude of the pillars, the height of the dome, the whole completely covered with gold, presented a most grand and imposing spectacle. Very few were present, and those evidently great officers of state. Our situation prevented us from seeing the farther avenue of the hall; but the end where we sat opened into the parade, which the emperor was about to inspect. We remained about five minutes, when every one put himself into the most respectful attitude, and Moung Yo whispered that his majesty had entered. We looked through the hall as far as the pillars would allow, and presently caught sight of this modern Ahasuerus. He came forward unattended, in solitary grandeur, exhibiting the proud gait and majesty of an Eastern monarch. His dress was rich, but not distinctive, and he carried in his hand the gold-sheathed sword, which seems to have taken the place of the scepter of ancient times. But it was his high aspect and commanding eye that chiefly riveted our attention. He strided on. Every head excepting ours was now in the dust. We remained kneeling,

our hands folded, our eyes fixed on the monarch. When he drew near, we caught his attention. He stopped, partly turned toward us—'Who are these?' 'The teachers, great king,' I replied. 'What, you speak Burman—the priests that I heard of last night?' 'When did you arrive?' 'Are you teachers of religion?' 'Are you like the Portuguese priest?' 'Are you married?' 'Why do you dress so?' These and some other similar questions we answered, when he appeared to be pleased with us, and sat down on an elevated seat, his hand resting on the hilt of his sword, and his eyes intently fixed on us. Moung Zah now began to read the petition, and it ran thus:

"'The American teachers present themselves to receive the favor of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea. Hearing that, on account of the greatness of the royal power, the royal country was in a quiet and prosperous state, we arrived at the town of Rangoon, within the royal dominions, and having obtained leave of the governor of that town to come up and behold the golden face, we have ascended and reached the bottom of the golden feet. In the great country of America we sustain the character of teachers and explainers of the contents of the sacred Scriptures of our religion. And since it is contained in those Scriptures, that, if we pass to other countries, and preach and propagate religion, great good will result, and both those who teach and those who receive the religion will be freed from future punishment, and enjoy, without decay or death, the eternal felicity of heaven; that royal permission be given that we, taking refuge in the royal power, may preach our religion in these dominions, and that those who are pleased with our preaching, and wish to listen to and be guided by

it, whether foreigners or Burmans, may be exempt from *government molestation*, they present themselves to receive the favor of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea.'

"The emperor heard this petition, and stretched out his hand. Moung Zah crawled forward and presented it. His majesty began at the top, and deliberately read it through. In the mean time I gave Moung Zah an abridged copy of the tract, in which every offensive sentence was corrected, and the whole put into the handsomest style and dress possible. After the emperor had perused the petition, he handed it back without saying a word, and took the tract. Our hearts now rose to God for a display of his grace. 'Oh, have mercy on Burmah! Have mercy on her king!' But, alas! the time was not yet come. He held the tract long enough to read the first two sentences, which assert that there is one eternal God, who is independent of the incidents of mortality, and that besides him, there is no God; and then, with an air of indifference, perhaps disdain, he dashed it down to the ground. Moung Zah stooped forward, picked it up, and handed it to us. Moung Yo made a slight attempt to save us by unfolding one of the volumes,* which composed our present, and displaying its beauty; but his majesty

* No person is authorized to appear in the presence of the emperor without a present. This was a cause of considerable perplexity to the missionaries before leaving Rangoon. Mr. Judson says: "Our funds were evidently inadequate to the purchase of articles which would be valuable to him in a pecuniary point of view: when we considered, also, that there ought to be a congruity between the present and our character, we selected that book which we hoped to be allowed to translate under his patronage, the Bible, in six volumes, covered with gold leaf, in Burman style, and each volume inclosed in a rich wrapper.

took no notice. Our fate was decided. After a few moments, Moung Zah interpreted his royal master's will in the following terms: 'Why do you ask for such permission? Have not the Portuguese, the English, the Mussulmans, and people of all other religions, full liberty to practice and worship according to their own customs? In regard to the objects of your petition, his majesty gives no order. In regard to your sacred books, his majesty has no use for them: take them away.'

"Something was now said about brother Colman's skill in medicine; upon which the emperor once more opened his mouth, and said: 'Let them proceed to the residence of my physician, the Portuguese priest; let him examine whether they can be useful to me in that line, and report accordingly.' He then rose from his seat, strided on to the end of the hall, and there, after having dashed to the ground the first intelligence that he had ever received of the eternal God, his Maker, his Preserver, his Judge, he threw himself down on a cushion, and lay listening to the music, and gazing at the parade spread out before him. As for us and our present, we were huddled up and hurried away without much ceremony."

The next day Mr. Judson and his colleague, accompanied by a European resident, had an interview with the great minister of state. Successive arguments in favor of toleration were addressed to him without avail, and thoroughly satisfied of the hopelessness of their cause they left his presence. "It was now evening. We had," Mr. Judson writes, "four miles to walk by moonlight. Two of our disciples only followed us. They had ventured as near as they durst to the door of the hall of audience, and listened to words which

sealed the extinction of their hope and ours. For some time we spoke not;

> "'Some natural tears we dropped, but wiped them soon;
> The world was all before us, where to choose
> Our place of rest, and Providence our guide.'

And as our first parents took their solitary walk through Eden, hand in hand, so we took our way through this great city, which, to our late imagination, seemed another Eden, but now, through the magic touch of disappointment, seemed blasted and withered, as if smitten by the fatal influence of the cherubic sword."

After two days' suspense, in which other expedients were employed with the hope that the minister of state might be moved to a more favorable consideration, they received, through the gentleman who accompanied them on their visit to him, the intelligence that there was not the least probability of obtaining the object they sought, "should they wait ever so long."

The same day another European whom they visited related to them the following story: "About fifteen years ago the Roman Catholic priests converted to their faith a Burman teacher of talents and distinction. They took great pains to indoctrinate him thoroughly in their religion, and entertained great hope of his usefulness in their cause. After his return from Rome, whither they had sent him to complete his Christian education, he was accused by his nephew, a clerk in the high court of the empire, of having renounced the established religion. The emperor, who, it must be remembered, was far from approving the religion of Boodh, ordered that he should be compelled to recant. The nephew seized his uncle, cast him into prison and fetters, caused him to be beaten and tortured continu-

ally, and at length had recourse to the torture of the iron mall. With this instrument he was gradually beaten from the ends of his feet up to his breast, until his body was little else but one livid wound. Mr. R. was one of those that stood by and gave money to the executioners to induce them to strike gently. At every blow the sufferer pronounced the name of Christ, and declared afterward that he felt little or no pain. When he was at the point of death, under the hands of his tormentors, some persons who pitied his case went to the emperor with a statement that he was a madman, and knew not what he was about; on which the emperor gave orders for his release. The Portuguese took him away, concealed him until he was able to move, then sent him privately in a boat to Rangoon, and thence by ship to Bengal, where he finished his days."

Daring even as Romish priests have often proved, this fearful illustration of Burman intolerance caused them to cease all efforts in the way of proselyting. Though there were four in Burmah when Mr. Judson visited the king, they confined their labors to their own flocks, composed of the descendants of Portuguese and other foreign residents of former times.

Other particulars showed Mr. Judson that there was no probability of his obtaining his desire. The man who accused his uncle he found was the very first of the private ministers, taking rank before the one with whom the interview had been held. At the same time he learned that the chief queen, who had great influence with his majesty, had ever been particularly attached to the religion and priests of Boodh. Even while he remained at Amarapora the priests from the villages surrounding the capital were feasted in the royal palace, and a hundred new priests, some of whom

were sons of noblemen, were made. "Such a public avowal," Mr. Colman wrote, "of the favorable disposition of the government toward the Boodhist religion had not been made for twenty years past."

Having received proof after proof of Burman intolerance, the missionaries determined as speedily as possible to return to Rangoon. They experienced some detention in obtaining a passport; but this being granted, on the 6th of February they began to descend the Irrawaddy. At Prome they met with the teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, who had come up from Rangoon to visit a sick acquaintance. To him they related "the distressing result of their expedition, and the present danger of propagating or professing the religion of Christ, and wound off with the story of the iron mall." These accounts affected him far less than the missionaries expected, and after a long conversation, Mr. Judson was led to the belief that he had made some progress in spiritual things.

Finding themselves placed in a position of so much peril, and judging by previous experience that the people would probably be altogether afraid to visit them, or hear any thing concerning Christianity, they had come to the reluctant conclusion that it was their duty to seek a field of labor beyond the reach of Burman despotism. Nevertheless, Mr. Judson could not bring his mind to the consideration of this course with satisfaction; and having found how earnestly Moung Shwa-gnong, to whom he gave a hint of their purpose, protested against it, his faith began to view the subject in new aspects. "Perhaps," says his journal, "on arriving in Rangoon, we shall find the disciples firm, and some others seriously inquiring. Perhaps we shall discover some appearances of a movement of the Di-

vine Spirit. Perhaps the Lord Jesus has a few chosen ones whom he intends to call in, under the most unpropitious and forbidding circumstances. Perhaps he intends to show that it is not by might, nor by power, but by his Spirit. In a word, perhaps, in the last extremity, God will help us. Ought we, then, hastily to forsake the place? Ought we to desert those of the disciples that we can not take with us, and some others for whom, perhaps, Christ died, in such an interesting crisis of their fate? Would it be rashness to endeavor to trust in God and maintain the post, though disallowed by government and exposed to persecution? But again: can we bear to see our dear disciples in prison, in fetters, under torture? Can we stand by them, and encourage them to bear patiently the rage of their persecutors? Are we willing to participate with them? Though the spirit may be sometimes almost willing, is not the flesh too weak? Pondering on such topics as these, a little ray of hope seemed to shine out of the darkness of our despair. But it was not like the soft beam of the moon, which kindly shines on the path of the benighted pilgrim and guides him to a place of shelter. It was rather like the angry gleam of lightning, which, while for a moment it illumines the landscape around, discloses the black magazines of heaven's artillery, and threatens death to the unwary gazer."

Twelve days after leaving Ava they redoubled the little point which had formerly hidden Rangoon from their view. When passed before, hope had occupied their minds; but it had now vanished. The expedition, "fraught with consequences momentous and solemn beyond all conception," had terminated. They were no longer in doubt. The "desired success" had not

been granted them, and most gloomy were the tidings they had to communicate to their beloved companions.

The course which Mr. Judson and his associate were led to adopt, after their arrival in Rangoon, and the unexpected indications of good there discovered, the following letter, addressed to Dr. Baldwin, will show:

RANGOON, *March* 16, 1820.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—The important interview with the emperor is past. The result is most unfavorable. His majesty refused our petition, and sent us away from his capital. "No toleration to any foreign religion," is the standing policy of the Burman government. Every Burman subject who renounces the established religion of the empire is liable to imprisonment, torture, and death. The three baptized converts, however, remain remarkably firm and attached to the cause. After our return to Rangoon they entreated us not to leave them at once without making some further trial. They thought that the case was not quite desperate; that some others would yet investigate and embrace the religion of Jesus Christ, though it was proscribed by the monarch. "At least," said they, "stay until a little church of ten is collected, and a native teacher set over it, and then, if you must go, we will not say nay. In that case we shall not be concerned. This religion will spread of itself. The emperor can not stop it." In a few days, two or three new ones professed themselves inquirers. The teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, whom I have formerly mentioned, gave increasing evidence of having received the grace of God, and a spirit of inquiry began to appear among some of his adherents. On hearing the entreaties of the disciples, and witnessing these most unexpected appearances, we felt that we could not all leave this place at present; and yet we felt as deeply that Chittagong, to which we have long wished to send aid, must be no longer neglected. A missionary station in that place (which, it will be recollected, is contiguous to the Burman dominions on the west, but subject to the British government) appeared increasingly important, as offering an asylum to the Rangoon missionaries and converts in case persecution should become so severe as to put a stop to all religious inquiry and missionary efforts. Such being the state of things, Brother Colman and I concluded to separate for a time—he to make an attempt in Chittagong, and I to make further trial in Rangoon. If the Rangoon station be not tenable, I am to repair to Chittagong; but if, on a few months' trial, it appears to be tenable, and that for an indefinite time, Brother Colman, after welcoming to Chittagong one or two missionaries from the board, whom

we are now most anxiously expecting, is to rejoin me in Rangoon. We are fully confident that the events which have lately happened to us will turn out to the furtherance of the Gospel. The ways of God are not like the ways of man. It becomes us, not only to acquiesce, but to rejoice evermore.

With the greatest respect and affection, I remain, reverend and dear sir, your brother in the Lord,

A. JUDSON, JR.

The last Lord's day of March was the last Mr. Judson was permitted to spend with Mr. Colman. He writes in his journal: "We have spent the last evening with our very dear brother and sister Colman. They expect to embark to-morrow morning. Our parting is mournful; for happy, uncommonly happy has been our past intercourse. Nothing but a sense of duty could force the present separation. We hope that it will be of short duration, and that we shall soon reunite our labors in Chittagong or Rangoon.* On their departure, Mrs. Judson and myself will again be left to our former 'loneliness of lot.' In this situation we renewedly commend ourselves to the remembrance and prayers of the board." Mr. and Mrs. Colman embarked for Chittagong the following day, March 27th.

This separation may be regarded as the last incident of an eventful year. A twelvemonth before, the zayat was opened, and new and more decided aggressions commenced on the territory of darkness. Since then the first-fruits of Burmah to Christ had been gathered. Three had already been "buried by baptism," and were "walking in newness of life." Others also gave indications of conversion. In these proofs of success-

* This reunion never took place. Mr. Colman went to Chittagong, and subsequently labored with much faith and patience at Cox's Bazaar. The climate of that place was more than usually insalubrious for persons of Anglo-Saxon origin, and he fell a victim to it July 4th, 1822.

ful effort Mr. Judson saw that his labor was not in vain in the Lord. But he had, nevertheless, causes for depression. Burman intolerance had manifested itself, and it was now evident that no one could hope to be allowed to profess a different religious belief from the king. In consequence of a single sentence the zayat had been deserted, and the expectation of more virulent persecution had caused himself and wife to lose the society and assistance of beloved fellow-laborers. Who at this time could tell how bitter might be the experiences of the future? Nevertheless our missionary was not disturbed by the suggestions of unbelief and fear, but was still prepared to abide at his post. Mrs. Judson, who, doubtless, well knew his mind, wrote at the time to one of her friends: "We wish to leave it all with God, who has so often appeared for us, when we had given up all hope from every other quarter. If he has a work for us to do here, he will provide ways and means for our continuance; or if he has some souls to be gathered in from among the Arracanese, through the preaching of the Gospel in the Burman language, he will cause us to see clearly that it is our duty to go. We feel it good to trust in him, endeavoring to perform present duty, and leaving it with him to provide for the future. In our present situation we often feel the preciousness of this passage: 'Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in him; and he shall bring it to pass.' We are enabled to commit our ways to him, and claim his promises to direct us. If we know any thing of our hearts, we have but one prevailing wish—to live and die among the Burmans, either here or elsewhere; and we feel no affliction in this world could equal that of being denied this privilege."

Chapter Ninth.

MINGLED EXPERIENCES.

"As chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing."—2 Cor. vi. 10.

IN re-commencing missionary work after his repulse at court, Mr. Judson deemed it desirable to avoid publicity. The departure of Mr. Colman having rendered vacant some of the rooms of the mission-house, one of them was fitted up for a chapel, and the Sabbath services, which, since his return from Amarapoora, had been held in the zayat with closed doors, were transferred to it. In this room, which was sometimes called the new zayat, Mr. Judson generally spent his time translating the Scriptures, and conversing with those who called upon him.

Although our missionary had been taught that he had little to hope from princes, he was not without gracious tokens of the favor of Him "whose is the kingdom and dominion under the whole heaven." Within a week from Mr. Colman's embarkation, the expectations which had been cherished with regard to a profession of religion by one of the inquirers were gratified, and on the first Lord's day in April, 1820, Moung Shwa-ba was baptized in the accustomed pond.

Within a few days after his baptism, this new professor showed the influence of the Gospel on his soul, by expressing a desire to communicate the treasure he had found to his numerous relations and friends in his

native village. "After expressing his desires, he said it had occurred to him that it might be proper to ask permission or license so to do. Not that he aspired to set up as a teacher—far from that; but he wanted to feel that, in communicating the Gospel, he was proceeding in a regular, authorized manner. He thought that if two or three disciples could be raised up in each of the large towns, it would much facilitate our operations. He was sure that at least one in ten of his relations and friends, on hearing his story, could not help embracing the new religion." It is no wonder that Mr. Judson reports that he "secretly exulted at hearing his proposal, so evidently the result of Christian principle." In succeeding months he surpassed even the older disciples in zeal for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom.

During April and May of this year, though there were no such multitudes of visitants as formerly, yet several persons found their way to the mission-house who were evidently desirous of information with regard to Christianity. Some of these proved subtile in argument, or were intrenched in sophistries which it required good parts in a missionary to overcome. In the journal of April 30th, we have the following instance:

"Oo Yan, after having searched out all the difficult points of religion, came to day to the *ne plus ultra*—How are sin and eternal misery reconcilable with the character of an infinitely holy, wise, and powerful God? He at length obtained such satisfaction that he could not restrain laughing, from pure mental delight, and kept recurring to the subject, and repeating my remarks to those around him. He was accompanied, as usual, by his two friends, Moung Thah-a and Moung Myat-lah, husband of Mah Men-la. With these came one

Moung Yo, a disciple of Moung Shwa-gnong, a poor man, but a sharp reasoner. He was, or pretended to be, on the semi-atheistic plan.* After ascertaining his precise ground, I used an argument which, in a late combat with Oo Yan, I found quite invincible. It is simply this: 'No mind, no wisdom; temporary mind, temporary wisdom; eternal mind, eternal wisdom.' Now, as all the semi-atheists firmly believe in eternal wisdom, this concise statement sweeps with irresistible sway through the very joints and marrow of their system. And though it may seem rather simple and inconclusive to one unacquainted with Burman reasoning, its effect is uniformly decisive. No sooner is this short sentence uttered than one significantly nods his head, as if to say: 'There you have it.' Another cries out to the opponent: 'You are undone, destroyed.' Another says: 'Talk about wisdom! where else will you find it?' The disputant himself, who was perhaps preparing a learned speech about the excellence, and efficacy, and eternity of wisdom, quite disconcerted by this unexpected onset, sits looking at the wreck of his system, and wondering at the simple means which has spread such ruin around him; presently he looks up (for the Burmans are frequently candid) and says: 'Your words are very appropriate;' and perhaps his next question is: 'How can I become a disciple of the God you worship?' All the visitors to-day, and, indeed, all the semi-atheists, are despisers of Gaudama and the established religion of the land. Moung Shwa-gnong has disseminated this heresy in Rangoon for several

* "Its fundamental doctrine is, that divine wisdom, not concentrated in any existing spirit, or embodied in any form, but diffused throughout the universe, and partaken in different degrees by various intelligences, and in a very high degree by the Boodhs, is the true and only God."

years; but since he has become acquainted with us, he frequently tells his adherents: 'I know nothing! if you want true wisdom, go to the foreign teacher, and there you will find it.' I have reason to believe that this heresy is not confined to Rangoon, but is taking root in various parts of the country, and preparing the way for the Christian religion. O for toleration—a little toleration! We will be content to baptize in the night, and hold worship in private; but we do pray that we may not be utterly banished from the land; that we may not be cut up root and branch. O that these poor souls, who are groping in the dark, feeling after the truth, may have time and opportunities to find the precious treasure which will enrich them forevermore."

On the 20th of April Mr. Judson finished the translation of the Epistle to the Ephesians. This work he commenced before his visit to the king, but he was compelled to lay it aside on account of the weakness of his eyes. "It is with real joy," he says in his journal, "that I put this precious writing into the hands of the disciples. It is a great accession to their scanty stock of Scripture, for they have had nothing hitherto but Matthew." A short time after he had made this translation he was visited by three individuals from a little village in the neighborhood of the mission-house, whose "characteristic trait" was a "particular love for the Scriptures." So greatly did they appreciate this last translation, that having but one copy among them our missionary has recorded that they almost quarreled with one another for its possession.

This last translation was executed "without the assistance of any person, not even a Burman teacher." Mr. Judson's former teacher having gone to Ava, he

was afraid to employ another, lest he should become too well acquainted with the disciples and inquirers, and betray them to government. But he had the gratification of finding that the new translation was pronounced "plainer, and more easily understood" than the previous one of Matthew.

In June the prospect of toleration became darker, but two converts were enabled to overcome their fears, and were baptized; and in July two other applicants were approved by some of the most discerning of the church. At this time Mr. Judson was contemplating a voyage to Bengal on account of the ill health of Mrs. Judson, and he writes: "I thought it most prudent, partly by way of trying their sincerity, to send them a message, suggesting that, since I was greatly occupied in getting ready for sea, and one of them was not so well acquainted with the doctrines of religion as was desirable, it might be better to defer their baptism till my return."

The result of this message on those to whom it was sent, is thus set forth: "They came up in much trouble. They stated that, as they had fully embraced the Christian religion in their hearts, they could not remain easy without being baptized, according to the commands of Christ; that no man could tell whether I should ever return or not, and that it was their earnest petition, that if I could possibly find time, and thought them worthy of the ordinance, I would administer it to them before I went away. They did not wish me to go out to the usual place, as that was *at some distance*, but would be baptized in a small pond near the mission-house. Moung Gway said, that though he was very ignorant, he knew enough of this religion to love it sincerely, and to trust in Christ for salvation from all

his sins. I re-examined them both, stated to them the great danger of professing a foreign religion, etc., and, on their urging their request, told them I would baptize them in the evening."

At night these two new disciples were baptized, and the ordinance of the Supper observed, as Mr. Judson believed, for the last time before embarkation. The next day, however, he learned that his vessel was to be detained for two days, and this afforded an opportunity for the teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, to revisit the mission-house. "I received him," our missionary writes, "with some reserve, but soon found that he had not staid away so long from choice, having been ill with a fever for some time, and occupied also with the illness of his family and adherents. He gradually wore away my reserve; and we had not been together two hours, before I felt more satisfied than ever, from his account of his mental trials, his struggles with sin, his strivings to be holy, his penitence, his faith, his exercises in secret prayer, that he is a subject of the special operations of the Holy Spirit, that he is indeed a true disciple."

In the evening this man expressed his desire to receive baptism at any time when Mr. Judson would be pleased to give it. On this avowal the disciples rejoiced, and other visitors were "astonished, for though they had long thought that he believed the Christian religion, they would not think that such a man could easily be brought to profess it, and suffer himself to be put under the water by a foreigner." Just at night, on the following day, Mr. Judson proceeded with him to "the accustomed place, went down into the water, and baptized him." As the missionary was expecting to leave on the morrow, the Supper was again observed in consequence of the admission of the new member.

Before the night closed another was to be "added to the church." Mah Men-la, a woman who had been long under Mrs. Judson's instruction, finding that the teacher had actually gone to be baptized, was unable to rest, and, having consulted with her friends, requested the administration of the ordinance. "Having been long satisfied that she had received the grace of Christ," Mr. Judson "led her out to the pond near the house by lantern light, and thus baptized the tenth Burman convert and the first woman." The addition of these two last converts was peculiarly gratifying to our missionary. Writing the next day to Dr. Baldwin, he says, after referring to those whom he had previously baptized: "and, to crown the whole, on yesterday evening, the distinguished teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, of whom you have heard so much, and Mah Men-la, the first female disciple, a woman of very superior abilities, and great influence among her extensive acquaintance." The case of this latter disciple was remarkable. Some time previous to Mr. Judson's arrival in Rangoon, her mind was led to inquire into the origin of all things. None of the Burman teachers, whose aid she sought for the solution of this question, were able to relieve her mind. She finally resolved to learn to read, with the hope that she might gain from the sacred books the information she desired. These did not satisfy her, and she had continued her search for ten years, when a neighbor having one day brought a tract to her, written by Mr. Judson, she derived from it her first ideas of an eternal God. For some time she was ignorant of our missionary's abode, but having discovered this by the erection of the zayat, she sought to make further inquiries, and under Mrs. Judson's guidance came to the knowledge of the truth.

The native converts at this time appeared well to their spiritual guide. "All the ten baptized disciples," he writes, "give satisfactory evidence of being true converts. Those of the longest standing are evidently growing Christians. Some of them take the lead in prayer-meetings with great propriety, and nearly all of them have made some attempts at this exercise before the church. A good degree of Christian affection prevails among them all, the appearance of which Moung Shwa-gnong says convinced him more than any thing else of the Divine origin and efficacy of the Christian religion."*

During the time of these last pleasing events in the history of the mission, as already narrated, Mr. Judson was preparing for a voyage to Bengal. A complaint of the liver had for several months affected Mrs. Judson's health, and he conceived it best to accompany her. "Never," he writes, "did I feel more unwilling to leave Rangoon, nor was the mission in more interesting circumstances than at the present time."

Thus having reason to hope that they left ten righteous ones in the place, Mr. Judson and his wife embarked July 19th. They were accompanied to the wharf by "near a hundred people, the women crying aloud in the Burman manner, and almost all deeply affected." The ship was not able to leave till the following day, and the detention afforded several individuals a fresh opportunity of manifesting their attachment to them. For about a week after embarking, on account of the threatening appearance of the weather, the vessel remained in the river. It was not, therefore, till July 26th that they passed the bar, and found

* Letter to Dr. Baldwin.

themselves "once more on the boundless ocean." They arrived at Calcutta August 18th, and, after spending a few days in that city with the Rev. John Lawson, removed to Serampore, and took up their abode with their former associate, Mr. Hough.

Mr. Judson did not purpose being absent from Rangoon any longer than was made necessary by the voyage to and from Calcutta; but he found no vessel sailing for Rangoon for some three months. By that time Mrs. Judson's health had so greatly improved that she resolved to join him in returning to their field. Her return to Rangoon was opposed to the advice of Dr. Chalmers, the physician who had kindly, and without pecuniary recompense, attended her. In his course he was sustained by the Rev. Drs. Carey and Marshman, who warmly seconded a proposition for her to take a voyage to America; but another eminent physician having given an opinion which coincided with the wishes of Mrs. Judson and her husband, they resolved to make one more trial in Rangoon. They accordingly sailed in a small brig November 23rd, 1820. The voyage proved tedious and distressing above any they had ever taken. The vessel was so crowded with native passengers that exercise was impossible, and so full of scorpions and centipedes as to cause continual disquiet. The passage was protracted by a succession of head-winds and calms, so that it occupied nearly six weeks.

On the 3rd of January, 1821, the vessel came in sight of the Elephant Grove, so called from its fancied resemblance to that animal. It marks the western limit of the Rangoon outlet of the Irrawaddy, and the sight, Mr. Judson writes, "awakened all our feelings of anxiety and desire—anxiety to hear of the welfare

of the little church which we have left so long in yonder wilderness, the progress of the inquirers, and the disposition of the present government of the place toward the mission—desire to re-commence our missionary labors, to proclaim the blessed Gospel, to feed the sheep and lambs of Christ's flock." On the following day the vessel came to anchor in full sight of the towering summit of Shway Dagon. The next day they landed. Mr. Judson writes: "As we drew near the town we strained our eyes to distinguish the countenances of our friends amid the crowd that we saw assembled on the wharf. The first that we recognized was the teacher, Moung Shwa-gnong, with his hands raised to his head as he discerned us on the deck; and on landing, we met successively with Mah Men-la, and Moung Thah-lah, and several others, men, women, and children, who, after our usual examination at the custom office, accompanied us to the mission-house. Soon after, Moung Nau and others came in, who had not at first heard of our arrival. In the evening I took my usual seat among the disciples, and when we bowed down in prayer, the hearts of us all flowed forth in gratitude and praise."

Within a week all of the baptized visited the mission-house, and Mr. Judson was able to record that, though for six months they had been almost destitute of the means of grace, not one of them had dishonored his profession. He also found several interesting cases of inquiry.

An additional cause of great gratification was the hopes of an improved disposition in the government toward the mission. The journal says:

"The most important event (and that relates of course to Moung Shwa-gnong) remains to be men-

tioned. It will be remembered that he was accused, before the former viceroy, of being a heretic, and that the simple reply, '*Inquire further*,' spread dismay among us all, and was one occasion of our visit to Ava. Soon after Mya-day-men assumed the government of this province, all the priests and officers of the village where Moung Shwa-gnong lives entered into a conspiracy to destroy him. They held daily consultations, and assumed a tone of triumph; while poor Moung Shwa-gnong's courage began to flag, and, though he does not like to own it, he thought he must flee for his life. At length one of the conspiracy, a member of the supreme court, went into the presence of the viceroy, and in order to sound his disposition, complained that the teacher Moung Shwa-gnong was making every endeavor to turn the priests' rice-pot bottom upward. '*What consequence?*' said the viceroy. '*Let the priests turn it back again.*' This sentence was enough; the hopes of the conspiracy were blasted, and all the disciples felt that they were sure of toleration under Mya-day-men. But his administration will not probably continue many months."

Encouraged by these friendly appearances, and painfully aware that it became him to work while it was day, Mr. Judson determined to re-open the zayat.

While in the matter of toleration the prospect for the time appeared auspicious, in some other respects it wore a contrary aspect. An expedition for the invasion of Siam was being raised, which occasioned great concern. Distress pressed upon all classes, and many were compelled to flee to the woods to escape the extortion and oppressions of petty officers of government. "If the war is prosecuted," Mr. Judson wrote Mr. Hough, January 22, "the state of things will become

intolerable.* But notwithstanding all these evils, we had the most pleasant assembly at worship yesterday that I can recollect. Ten disciples, five hopeful inquirers (respectable people), and others to the amount of about twenty-five adults in all, exhibited a spectacle which would have seemed two years ago a perfect miracle." Concerning this Lord's day his journal has the entry: "Why art thou ever cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God—the God of the Burmans, as well as David's God; for I shall yet praise him for the help of his countenance, revealed in the salvation of thousands of these immortal souls."

In February, the fisherman, Moung Ing, whom Mr. Judson regarded as the "second Burman whose heart was touched by Divine grace," returned to the mission-house. This man had been prevented by various circumstances from making a profession, but on the last Lord's day of February he made application for admission to the church, and was baptized a week after. He waited for the communion season on the second Lord's day in March, and then left for Bike, some distance below Rangoon, laden with various writings in Burman and Portuguese, for distribution among the people of that place.

In March, Mr. Judson was unwell for several days, so that his usual labors were intermitted; but on his recovery he devoted himself with renewed earnestness to the work of translation whenever he was not interrupted by company.

The following extracts from a letter to the Rev. Dr. Bolles afford some interesting information:

* After some months of preparation the government abandoned its purpose.

RANGOON, *May* 5, 1821.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER—Your kind and encouraging letter of June last reached me in Bengal just after I had written you. We returned hither on having partially attained the end of our visit—the restoration of Mrs. Judson's health. Her disorder is not, indeed, perfectly eradicated, but the manner in which she has sustained the present hot season thus far is most encouraging.

I have baptized one only since my return. All the old converts remain steadfast. Some shine bright, and some emit only a glimmering light; but none have gone out. There are several hopeful inquirers, some of whom give satisfactory evidence of being true converts; but though they have been examining the Christian religion for many months, they are not yet quite ready to take the decided, the irrevocable step—that of swearing allegiance to the Lord Jesus in the water of baptism.

The Burmans are a slow, wary, circumspect race; but their pertinacity in maintaining an opinion deliberately adopted will bear, I imagine, due proportion to their tardiness in adopting it. This trait in their character will render missionary operations among them less rapid in the outset, but more effective and permanent in the issue.

I am just forwarding some portions of the New Testament to be printed at Serampore under the superintendence of Brother Hough. I long to see the whole New Testament completed, for I should then be able to devote all my time to preaching the Gospel from day to day; and even now the latter appears to be the more pressing duty. May the Spirit of the Lord be poured out.

In July, Mr. Judson gave, in his journal, the following account concerning his proceedings and the state of the native church:

"In the interval of receiving company, I have lately been employed in translating; have finished the Gospel and Epistles of John, those exquisitely sweet and precious portions of the New Testament, and am now employed on the latter part of Acts. I find Moung Shwa-ba a most valuable assistant in all parts of missionary work. Moung Shwa-gnong also begins 'to be dissatisfied with being a mere disciple, and hopes that he shall some time be thought worthy of being a teacher of the Christian religion.' These two, with Mah

Men-la, are, at present, the flower of our little church. I have no reason, however, to complain of the conduct of any, considering the great disadvantages under which they all labor. Some have grown comparatively cold, but none have forgotten their first love. Praise forever be to Him

'Who is faithful to his promises,
And faithful to his Son.'"

Shortly after writing this account he was prostrated by a fever, and two days after Mrs. Judson was a sufferer from the same complaint, and "for several days," he writes, "we lay side by side, unable to help one another." In the beginning of August he began to recover; but his wife's former complaint manifested itself in so decisive a form, that a voyage to America presented the only hope for her recovery.

In a letter to the corresponding secretary of the American Baptist Board Mr. Judson wrote: "The event has accorded with the predictions of Dr. Chalmers. For a few months the mercurial remedies which he prescribed for Mrs. Judson kept the disorder at bay; but they now begin to lose all their efficacy; and scarcely are the effects of one salivation suffered to subside, when she is obliged to have recourse to another. The pain in her side is almost incessant, and begins to be attended with those alarming symptoms which forced us to Bengal last year. In these circumstances I feel that there is no alternative, and I acquiesce in the present measure, however painful to our feelings, under the full conviction that it is absolutely necessary in order to avert a more painful separation, which might otherwise be realized in the course of a very few months—a separation final, and precluding all further hope in this world."

The communication from which the preceding extract is taken affords a striking proof of the conscientiousness of Mr. Judson with regard to the funds of the mission. In a separation from a wife whom he dearly loved, whom he was able to say had "faithfully labored many years" in the service of the board, and whose "sole object" in visiting her country once more was to recover her health and strength in order to return to Burmah, it might be supposed that considerations of a pecuniary character would scarcely trouble his mind; but it was not so; and he writes: "Being entirely alone, I do not feel authorized to make any special appropriation of mission money, especially as I do not know what the expense of passages will be. But I cheerfully refer this subject to the board. We hope that one, at least, of the passages may be procured at a small expense, perhaps gratis, particularly as we hear that the Benjamin Rush is now in Bengal. Whatever money Mrs. Judson may need in America, I beg may be paid to her order on the treasurer; and all such money I shall pass to the credit of the board, and deduct from my usual allowance, in the same manner as money taken up of the agents of the board in Bengal. I have made such arrangements as will prevent the necessity of burdening the board with any additional expense on this occasion except that of passages at sea, and for this my only apology must be, the extreme necessity of the case."

Mrs. Judson embarked for Bengal August 21st. The following letter was addressed to her. It was written evidently a few days after her departure.

RANGOON, *September* 5, 1821.

I hope you enjoy more religion than I do. This heavy affliction does not have that salutary effect on my heart which I anticipated. Mercies

and judgments seem to be thrown away on me, and I am afraid that I shall never make much advance in the divine life. I had such a view and sense of my depravity this morning as made me ready to give up all for lost; not, I mean, as regards my interest in Christ—there I feel strong—but as regards any attainments in holiness while remaining in this state of sin. O how consoling it is to give up myself and you and the interest of the mission into the faithful hands of Jesus, and to look forward to that blessed state where we are sure of meeting, though we should meet no more on earth. The Lord reigns, and I feel, at times, that I can safely trust all in his hands, and rejoice in whatever may betide. If we suffer with Christ, we shall also be glorified with him.

Sept. 12.—Company continued with me until after three o'clock, and then I found myself alone, and for a few hours was very desolate and unhappy; but about sunset, the time mentioned in your last letter for mutual prayer, I felt more comfortable. And now evening worship being past, I am sitting in my room. Your last letter lies before me, and "Winchell's Collection" also, open at the hymn—

"Blest be the tie that binds,"

not that I can not repeat it without book, but I wish to refresh myself with a view of the very words. How exactly suited to our case! How it describes the manner in which we have lived together for many years, the pain which we feel in being parted, and the glorious hopes and prospects before us! One thing, however, it omits, namely: the hope which we entertain of meeting again in this world.

Lord's Day.—But few Burmans present at worship. Some others would probably have attended had it not been for the rain. I have consequently had a dull day. Religion, however, has afforded me some comfort, especially this evening. But O how small a part of our daily comfort and gratification is derived from the right source! And how apt are Christians to deceive themselves in this particular! It is only when deprived of outward means that we learn to correct our error. Then we find that the depravity of the heart is so great that we can not be satisfied with the pure bread of heaven, but are continually hankering after the more gross and palpable food of this world—the husks of time and sense. And, alas! our minds are so weak and ill-disciplined that frequently, when we are in a spiritual frame, and obtain some glimpses of heaven, present grief will intervene, and swallow up all anticipations of future joy.

Shortly after Mrs. Judson's departure, dark clouds again rested on the mission. The following letter makes known their character:

TO THE REV. DANIEL SHARP.

RANGOON, *September* 17, 1821.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—Your kind and affectionate letter of October, 1820, I have perused several times with much satisfaction. The sources of encouragement and motives to perseverance which you suggest are such as I desire ever to keep in view. But our feelings are not always in unison with the dictates of reason and the assurances of faith; and I am sometimes quite disheartened in view of the difficulties with which I am surrounded. Opposition to the truth daily grows more determined and violent; the struggle between light and darkness is great, and though I am sure that God will bring forth judgment to victory, I think it probable that I shall not witness the triumph during my lifetime. I hope, however, to keep some footing in the country, and carry forward the translation of the Scriptures, as you suggest; but as I am almost cut off from all opportunities and means of communicating the truth, I have no reason to hope that many conversions will at present be effected. The decided intolerance of government, and the bitter spirit which is rapidly gaining ground among all classes of people, have occasioned the zayat to be quite deserted, and have even deterred most of the disciples from attending worship on Lord's day. The particular circumstance which has manifested the intolerant spirit of government is a new accusation and arraignment of Moung Shwagnong. By what particular means he obtained acquittal I have not yet ascertained. It is said that he accompanied his chief to Shway Dagon, as is the custom among the common people, though he performed no act of worship there.

If I had sufficient property I should think of another visit to Ava; but a thousand rupees of mission money is too much to be thrown away on an improbability. I have some idea that in a year's residence I should find some influential person who would procure me favorable access to the presence of the emperor. Unless some word or look can be obtained from his majesty, it seems morally impossible that any thing can be done in the country. It is true that, by the operation of the Spirit of God, multitudes can be converted, *where the means are used;* but at present no one dares to come near me, and for me to go out into the streets, and zayats, and pagodas, and proclaim a proscribed religion, would be the height of madness.

I suppose I feel more disheartened just at present in consequence of being entirely alone, as I have been since Mrs. Judson's departure, with not a single person in the whole place who can give me a word of advice or encouragement. But I sometimes derive comfort from a higher source, and feel happy in committing this forlorn hope into the hands of the Great Captain of our salvation, who is able to keep those

who are persecuted from being forsaken, and those who are cast down from being destroyed. Affectionately and respectfully yours,

A. JUDSON.

The following letter, though it contains no intelligence concerning missions, gives a beautiful exemplification of the religious character of our subject. It is addressed to Mrs. Judson:

I wish I could always feel as I did last evening, and have this morning. At first, on hearing Moung Shwa-gnong's story, I felt much disheartened, and thought how pleasant it would be if we could find some quiet resting-place on earth, where we might spend the rest of our days together in peace, and perform the ordinary services of religion. But I fled to Jesus, and all such thoughts soon passed away. Life is short. Happiness consists not in outward circumstances. Millions of Burmans are perishing. I am almost the only person on earth who has attained their language to such a degree as to be able to communicate the way of salvation. How great are my obligations to spend and be spent for Christ! What a privilege to be allowed to serve him in such interesting circumstances, and to suffer for him! The heavenly glory is at hand. O, let me travel through this country, and bear testimony to the truth all the way from Rangoon to Ava, and show the path to that glory which I am anticipating. O, if Christ will only sanctify me and strengthen me, I feel that I can do all things. But in myself I am absolute nothingness, and when through grace I get a glimpse of divine things, I tremble lest the next moment will snatch it quite away.

Let us pray especially for one another's growth in grace. Let me pray that the trials which we respectively are called to endure may wean us from the world, and rivet our hearts on things above. Soon we shall be in heaven. O, let us live as we shall then wish we had done. Let us be humble, unaspiring, indifferent equally to worldly comfort and the applause of men, absorbed in Christ, the uncreated Fountain of all excellence and glory.

Mr. Judson's fears of Moung Shwa-gnong's apostasy were not realized. After an absence from the mission-house of two weeks he re-appeared, and stated that having been accused, he had thought it best to keep out of the way, and had called preparatory to leaving Rangoon for a longer period. His intention was to

make his abode for some time among the sect of semi-atheists, with whom he had been formerly associated, and being desirous to be useful he was anxious to have tracts and Gospels for distribution. These were gladly given him, and he took leave with an earnest "God-speed" from the missionary. In the midst of trouble the other members generally conducted themselves with consistency, and by October the church numbered thirteen converted Burmans.

In December, Mr. Judson was again cheered by the presence of an associate, Dr. Jonathan D. Price, who had been sent from America. In January, 1822, Mr. Hough rejoined the mission after an absence of more than three years.

The proceedings of the government in the case of Moung Shwa-gnong "struck a fatal blow at religious inquiry," and for some months after Mr. Judson confined himself almost entirely to translation. In February, 1822, he wrote: "About half the New Testament is now finished, and I am desirous of finishing the whole, if possible, before making any further missionary movement. When that work is disposed of I expect to feel more free to go forth and encounter the hazards which may attend an open and extensive declaration of the Gospel. I am fully persuaded that the way will soon be opened for the introduction and establishment of true religion in this country. Difficulties may obstruct, delays may intervene, the faith of missionaries and their supporters may be severely tried, but at the right time, the time marked out from all eternity, the Lord will appear in his glory."

The following communication contains some interesting particulars with respect to the department of translation:

TO THE REV. PROFESSOR IRA CHASE.

RANGOON, *April* 20, 1822.

MY DEAR BROTHER—I have almost determined not to read a book or write a letter, except absolutely necessary, until the translation of the New Testament is finished. But every rule must have its exceptions, and your letter which inquires particularly about the translation seems to lay especial claim to an early answer.

My first attempt at translation was made on the Gospel of Matthew after I had been nearly four years in the country, but I was so dissatisfied with the result, and was so convinced of the inadequacy of a four years' acquaintance with a foreign language to enable me to make a good translation of the Scriptures, that I proceeded no farther. Some time after, influenced chiefly by the importunity of the little church, which had grown up in the mean time, I gave them Ephesians and part of Acts. But it was not until I had been in the country nearly eight years, that is, about a year ago, that I undertook the work with a more settled purpose, and have now finished the Gospels, Acts, and Romans. I shall probably by the time you have received this have finished the whole New Testament. I translate, as you suppose, from the original, following generally the text of Griesbach.

It is my earnest desire and prayer that as soon as the translation of the New Testament is finished, the way may be opened for a more public dissemination of the Gospel than has been hitherto practicable. What particular method the Lord will devise for the introduction of the Christian religion into this empire, we can not yet conjecture. We do not yet discover the indications of his will. But we hope that such a discovery will in due time be granted to humble trust and fervent prayer. O for that spirit of effectual, fervent prayer that availeth much!

Let me beg you to remember us and the perishing millions of Burmah in your daily intercessions.

After being in the country but little more than four months, Mrs. Price was called from earth, the first loss of a member which the mission had sustained by death. She was consigned to the grave May 2d, by the side of little Roger. Shortly after this period Mr. Judson was seized with fever, and subsequently by cholera-morbus. It was not till the last day of June that he made any entry in his journal, and he then described himself as "scarcely able to hold a pen."

Toward the end of July he was able fully to resume

his work. He was pursuing the course of translation he had marked out, with great diligence, and the zayat, after having been for a long period almost deserted, was visited by some of the most respectable Burmans, who appeared to be anxiously inquiring, when the news of the medical skill of his associate reached Ava. As a consequence of this, a summons was sent from the king for Dr. Price to repair to the court. Though our subject was most unwilling to leave his pursuits and prospects at Rangoon, yet his superior acquaintance with the language made it necessary for him to go likewise. It was also an inducement that the circumstance might afford opportunity for him to gain some footing in the capital.

In the prospect of his departure for Ava he made the following record in his journal:

"*August* 21.—Early in the morning I administered baptism to Mah Mee, the eighteenth Burman convert. Two more still remain, Moung Myat-lah and Mah Ing, the one detained by fear of government, the other by fear of her husband. Add to these a desirable number of hopeful inquirers, and I feel I am leaving, at least for a time, one of the most interesting fields of labor that was ever opened to a missionary. But the path of duty seems to lead to Ava, and it is infinitely easy for God to open there a more interesting field."

Mr. Judson and his associate left Rangoon August 28th, and reached Ava September 27th. The chief events and prospects of this period of his residence there are made known in the following letters:

TO THE REV. LUTHER RICE.

AVA, *September* 30, 1822.

MY DEAR BROTHER RICE—We arrived here three days ago, in consequence of brother Price being called by the king. His majesty re-

ceived us—that is, brother Price—very favorably, and ordered a place for our residence. My old friend, Moung Zah, the chief private minister of state, immediately recognized me, and asked me several questions of a friendly nature in the presence of the king, and afterward conversed a little on religion, and told me to remain in Ava, and not return to Rangoon. This invitation, from one whose word is nearly equivalent to that of the king, and who must have been perfectly aware of my object in the country, I can not but consider very encouraging. And it is chiefly to communicate this circumstance that I write this hasty line, on board our boat, which we have not yet been able to leave. Our house will be ready in two or three days. It is situated near the palace, and surrounded by the inclosures of princes and nobles. O that the Holy Spirit may descend upon us, and make us a burning and shining light in this benighted region! O pray, my dear brother, that the set time to favor Burmah may now come!

TO THE REV. DANIEL SHARP.

AVA, *November* 30, 1822.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—Brother Price and myself have been here about two months. He is well received in the character of doctor, and I am better received in the character of a minister of religion than I had any reason to expect from the manner of my reception three years ago. I am now inclined to think that it was motives of state policy, rather than a spirit of intolerance, which influenced the king, at the commencement of his reign, to discountenance every innovation. Indeed, all the members of the blood-royal seem to have inherited from the late monarch a spirit of skepticism in respect to their own religion, and a disposition to listen with candor, so far as their attention can be diverted from the business and amusements of high life. The prince of M———, eldest half brother of the king, is almost persuaded to be a Christian, and not merely, I hope, from conviction of the truth of Christianity, but from a conviction of its excellence and adaptedness to his personal necessities. He allows me to approach him with great familiarity, and I sometimes venture to warn him of his danger, and exhort him to flee from the wrath to come; and he sometimes listens with the deference of a disciple and the air of an awakened sinner. The princess of T———, eldest sister of the king, also manifests a desire to know the truth, and receives my communications with respect. But here I have need of Mrs. Judson. The princess is a lady of taste and elegance, and I have no doubt that she and Mrs. Judson would become strongly attached to each other. Her favorable opinion is of the first importance, since she has the immediate charge of the heir apparent, a fine boy of about ten years of age. Of the six atwenwoons

(privy councilors of the king), two or three are decidedly candid and liberal. Of the woongyees and woondouks (the ruling court of the empire), I can as yet say nothing certain, it not having been convenient to form much acquaintance with them. I might mention several cases among the subordinate officers of government, in which I have been favored with a pleased and candid attention, and have received kindnesses that I had no reason to expect.

I do hope that if we can obtain a settled residence in the capital, and enjoy an ordinary measure of the Holy Spirit, the Christian religion will be gradually introduced—at least, that some precious souls will be rescued and saved.

I have lately heard of the death of dear brother Colman, and am frequently reminded of his loss while occupied in scenes where he was once associated with me. I am ready to reproach myself for having in any way consented to his leaving this country, and exposing himself to the fatal climate of Cox's Bazaar, especially as the prospects under this government become more encouraging. But I trust that we were guided in all our deliberations and decisions, and that in the future world of light we shall see that the great designs of God were furthered by events which appear to us, at present, most disastrous.

Yours, with affection and respect,

A. JUDSON, JUN.

TO REV. DR. BALDWIN.

RANGOON, *February* 11, 1823.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—My last to you was written just before we left Rangoon for Ava. While at Ava, yours of March last came to hand, and afforded me much consolation and encouragement. Since my return I have received yours of July, the latest that has reached me from America. The magazines also have all been duly received. Many thanks for all your kindnesses, and thanks to God who has excited so much interest for the Burman mission in the hearts of his dear children in far distant lands.

You will learn from my journal, forwarded herewith to the corresponding secretary, the particulars of our visit to Ava. Suffice it here to say, that the Lord has been gracious to us beyond our expectation. My reception, as a minister of religion, has been very different from what it was before. A liberal and candid spirit seems to prevail among all the members of the royal family, and among many of the leading members of government. It is distinctly understood by the king, and by all who have any knowledge of me at all, that I am a thah-thah-nah-pyos-tsayah—that is, a religion-propagating teacher; and yet I have been smiled on, and listened to, and, by the order of the

king himself, have received from the chief public minister of state the grant of a small piece of ground, for the express purpose of building a kyoung (a house appropriated to sacred characters). It is my intention, therefore, to return thither as soon as Mrs. Judson arrives, who, I hear, has gone on to America. And in the mean time I shall occupy myself in finishing the translation of the New Testament—a work which I left unfinished with great reluctance, and which I rejoice to have leisure to reassume.

During my absence, one of the best of our church members, the sister of Mah Men-la, was called from this world to join, I trust, the church triumphant. She died in peace and joy, professing her belief in Jesus Christ, and saying that she should soon be with him in heaven.

During the whole of my residence at Ava I was severely afflicted, at intervals, with the fever and ague. I did hope that a change of climate would effect my cure; but the disorder has followed me to Rangoon, and I am subject to it every other day. Brother Price was apprehensive that it would terminate fatally, having resisted every medical application, and become so deeply rooted; and he would have accompanied me hither, had I not dissuaded him. My only hope now is, that it will exhaust itself before my constitution is exhausted; but the Lord's will be done. I could wish to live to finish the New Testament, and I should also be happy to see a little church raised up in Ava, as there has been in Rangoon. But the ways of God are not as the ways of man. He does all things well. Glory be to his holy name forevermore. Yours, very respectfully,

A. JUDSON, JR.

During Mr. Judson's absence in Ava the church at Rangoon was scattered, owing to the persecutions and extortions of a new viceroy. Several of them, however, subsequently gathered around him, and he engaged in such labors for their instruction and that of others as he felt could be prosecuted with safety. The work of translation he continued to prosecute as time and health permitted. In this work he obtained one object of great desire. He thus refers to it in the following letter:

TO THE REV. DR. SHARP.

RANGOON, *August* 5, 1823.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER—It is with real satisfaction that I am

able to inform you of the completion of the New Testament in Burman, about six weeks ago; since which I have added, by way of introduction, an epitome of the Old Testament, in twelve sections, consisting of a summary of Scripture history from the creation to the coming of Christ, and an abstract of the most important prophecies of the Messiah and his kingdom, from the Psalms, Isaiah, and other prophets. I trust this work will be found as valuable as any part of the preceding; for though not, strictly speaking, the Word of God, it is compiled almost entirely in the words of Scripture, is received by the converts with great eagerness, and found to be peculiarly interesting and instructive, and forms, moreover, a sort of text-book, from which I am able to communicate much information on the history, types, and prophecies of the Old Testament in a systematic manner.

I have heard but little from Ava since I left. Prince M. sometimes inquires for me, and wishes to hear more about the Christian religion. Brother Price is building a small brick house on the other side of the river, the king having given him bricks. I expect to remove as soon as Mrs. Judson returns, from whom I have not, however, received a word of intelligence for nearly ten months. Brother Hough has not yet been able to get types from Bengal. No printing, therefore, has been done since his return.

I hope it will not be long before the Gospel and Epistles of John are printed. They have been ready for the press above a year, and have been so thoroughly and repeatedly revised, that I flatter myself that subsequent translators will not find it necessary to make many alterations. Indeed, all the Gospels and the Acts are in a tolerable state, the Epistles are still deficient. But I never read a chapter without a pencil in hand, and Griesbach and Parkhurst at my elbow; and it will be an object with me through life to bring the translation into such a state that it may be a standard work.

I remain, dear sir, affectionately yours.

A. JUDSON, JUN.

It was not till December 5th that Mrs. Judson reached Rangoon.* When it is remembered that she

* After spending some time in Calcutta, Mrs. Judson took passage for England. She made a sojourn of several months in that country and Scotland. She embarked for her native land, August, 1822, and arrived in New York in the following month. She left Boston for Calcutta in June, 1823, and arrived at the latter city in October. Her visit to the U. States was not only beneficial to her own health, but tended much to enkindle and fan the missionary flame in the hearts of Christians.

had been absent more than two years, and that by the time of her return fourteen months had passed during which Mr. Judson had not heard from her, it is easy to understand that her arrival was a cause of "inexpressible happiness" to him. Mr. and Mrs. Wade, who had accompanied her from the United States, arrived at the same time. Mr. Judson determined, as his absence had been protracted considerably beyond his expectations, to delay his return to Ava no longer than was necessary for arrangements to be made for his voyage. The reunited couple left Rangoon on the 13th of December.

The voyage occupied six weeks, being somewhat lengthened by the fact that the boat was larger than Mr. Judson had employed on his previous voyage with Mr. Colman; and that, to save expense, he had fewer men. Dr. Price, having heard of his approach, met him a few days below Ava. The intelligence he gave was discouraging. The former privy council of the king had been turned out of office, and a new one appointed, with whom the missionaries had neither acquaintance nor interest. Added to other causes of disquiet, there was a prospect of war with the British. To this Mr. Judson alludes in a letter to Dr. Baldwin; and as an interval of two years occurs between the date of this letter and the next which is presented, and as it was probably the last that the beloved minister to whom it is addressed was permitted to receive, it has a peculiar interest:

AVA, *February* 19, 1824.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR— * * * * * *

A misunderstanding has subsisted for several months between this and the Bengal government. Troops have marched on both sides to the frontiers. War appeared at one time to be certain, but the latest accounts are rather pacific. In case of actual war, as the distinction

between American and Englishmen is pretty well understood in this place, we hope that we shall not be considered implicated, and suffer no other inconvenience than that of having all communication with our friends cut off, except in case of war's reaching the capital, when we should be exposed to the vicissitudes and dangers incident to such a state.

But in all cases we trust we have a few dear friends at home who bear us in their hearts at the throne of grace, and a still dearer and greater Friend at the right hand of the Divine Presence in heaven, who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and will graciously succor us in the time of trial, and make us come off conquerors at last.

But, my dear and venerable friend and brother and father, you are, from long experience, more able than I am to taste the sweetness of this precious truth; and your advanced age and the grace of Christ enable you to hope that you will ere long be allowed to adopt the triumphant language of the apostle Paul. Pray for me, that I may be counted worthy to hold out to the end, and finally meet with you before the throne, and handle a harp of gold in the dear Redeemer's praise.

Most affectionately yours,

A. JUDSON, JR.

On his arrival in Ava, Mr. Judson, according to his usual custom, proceeded to the performance of present duty, holding worship every Lord's day in Dr. Price's house, and "getting up something to shelter" Mrs. Judson and himself on the lot formerly assigned to him by the government. The building was of wood, and though for this reason unadapted to the climate of Ava, yet to their eyes it was a very desirable habitation. Of his celerity in erecting it, and its advantages, Mrs. Judson speaks in her correspondence: "You will hardly believe it possible, for I almost doubt my senses, that in just a fortnight from our arrival we moved into a house built in that time, and which is sufficiently large to make us comfortable. It is a most delightful situation, out of the dust of the town, and on the bank of the river. The spot of ground given by his majesty is small, being only one hundred and twenty feet long and seventy-five wide; but it is our own, and is the

most healthy situation I have seen. Our house is raised four feet from the ground, and consists of three small rooms and a veranda."

Thus settled in his own house at Ava, let the reader recall the incidents of the four years recorded in this chapter. Where shall we find more sad experiences in the prosecution of Christian labor? We see our missionary oftentimes pursuing his work in painfulness and weariness, a solitary laborer, uncheered by the presence of a single associate save his wife, and she soon compelled by affliction to leave him; so that there was not one individual near him using his own tongue to accompany him to the mercy-seat. Then, if we think of the suspense in which his mind was held with regard to his companion—more than a year passing over his head in which he heard not a word concerning her—we see a demand for fortitude and patience which few would be able to meet. If, further, we behold his work prosecuted often by stealth and under fear of banishment, if we see him compelled to leave for months at a time the few whom he had been permitted to lead to the Saviour, and returning to find them in great trouble, or scattered abroad, we see an experience sufficient to overwhelm the most sanguine mind. Nevertheless, "God, that comforteth those that are cast down," comforted him. Under the frown of a king the little flock increased from three to eighteen, and, though so often exposed to trial, none of its members apostatized. That frown, once so fearful a cause of disquietude, He who turneth the hearts of men as he pleases, caused to give way to a gracious smile. Though our missionary knew months of loneliness in labor, he was ultimately relieved by the presence of one, then of another, and finally of a third ordained colleague;

and after a separation of more than two years from his beloved wife, its sorrows and anxieties were forgotten in the joys of a reunion. And now in the capital of Burmah, having his home on ground assigned to him by the monarch, he was looking forward to years of labor for Christ. It is true, in the prospect of war there was a small cloud on his horizon, but it caused him little disquietude.

How merciful is that appointment of Infinite Wisdom which veils to man's vision the things which are to befall him in the future!

Chapter Tenth.

IMPRISONMENT.

"For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia, that we were pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life."—2 Cor. i. 8.

WE now approach the most trying period of our missionary's history. After continuing his labors in Ava, as occasion offered, with much hazard for nearly six months, the untoward counsels adopted by the Burman government brought them to a termination. Although we may believe that while he had life he could scarcely be restrained from speaking of the great salvation, if heathen were around him, yet, from the period named, we must date a forced suspension of his labors, which continued for nearly two years. Though some of the incidents which are recorded in this chapter occurred as long since as 1824, yet they are so familiar to the present generation as to need mention, more with a view of keeping the proper succession before the reader than for purposes of information.

In the previous chapter an extract from Mr. Judson's correspondence is given, in which he announces the probabilities of war between the Burman and Bengal governments. At the time he wrote, hostilities had already commenced, but no accounts had been received at the capital. A brief account of the origin of the war may be acceptable before we proceed with the personal narrative.

In the year 1798 some thirty thousand of the people, generally known as Mugs, fled from the oppressions of the Burmese rule in Arracan, and sought refuge within the British district of Chittagong. Here they established themselves as permanent settlers. The Burmese authorities, however, made several applications, with a view of persuading the "resident" of the district to deliver them up. Subsequently some two or three embassies were sent from Ava to Calcutta with a like end and as little success. In the year 1811 a native of Arracan, named Kingberring, one of the refugees who had found an asylum in Chittagong, gathered large numbers similarly situated with himself, to invade the territory to which they had formerly belonged. The Burman government naturally concluded that this invasion, headed by a person residing under British protection, would not have been undertaken without the sanction or connivance of the ruling powers in that part of India. To remove such an impression an envoy was sent to Burmah to disavow all connection with, or approval of, the undertaking on the part of the Bengal government. Ultimately the Burmese gained a decisive victory over the invaders, and the leader and many of his followers again sought refuge in Chittagong. Considerations of humanity caused the British to refuse to give them up to the sanguinary vengeance which was certain to befall them, if once within the power of the Burmese. Incensed by the course of the Bengal government, and renewed hostile manifestations on the part of the refugees, Burmese forces were sent at various times into the British territory in quest of fugitives, and these forays proved a frequent cause of misunderstanding and complaint. In 1818 the Burman government not only demanded

the surrender of the fugitives, but laid claim to a large portion of British territory. The death of the king in 1819 put a stop to the demand for a time, but incessant troubles with neighboring rajahs, who, when defeated, found an asylum in the company's territories, continued to foment its hostile dispositions. Having obtained some decisive victories over their native enemies, the Burmese became eager for a contest with the British, and made such aggressive manifestations that in 1824 Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, declared war in due form.

The ignorance of the English with regard to the geography and resources of the Burmese territories caused some delay in the formation of their plans, but, nevertheless, measures for the capture of Rangoon were taken, and on the 11th of May that town was in possession of the foreign troops. The news of this event reached Ava Sunday, May 23d. Soon after a rumor was circulated that papers had been received from Bengal, which made known the purpose of the British to make an attack at that point. In consequence of this report certain Englishmen at Ava were examined. It was found that they had seen the papers, and they were put in confinement, and subsequently transferred to the death-prison.

It being known that the American missionaries had frequent communications with Bengal, the suspicion that they were spies soon rested on them, but after examination they were allowed to return to their homes. They had but a short respite. On the 8th of June, as Mr. Judson was preparing for dinner, the veranda of his dwelling was suddenly thronged with people, and an officer, holding a black book, rushed in, "accompanied by *one* who, from his spotted face,

was known to be an executioner and a son of the prison. 'Where is the teacher?' was the first inquiry. Mr. Judson presented himself. 'You are called by the king,' said the officer—a form of speech always used when about to arrest a criminal."* He was instantly seized, thrown on the floor, tightly bound with cords, and struck with the knees and elbows in the act of being secured. These cords were so firmly bound round his arms that the skin was cut.

An offer of money on the part of Mrs. Judson drew the attention of the officer to her, and a command was given to the spotted face to take her likewise; and but for the earnest entreaties of Mr. Judson that they would wait for further instructions, it is probable she would have been subjected to like indignities. It was in vain that the spotted face was entreated to take the silver and loosen the cords, and thus bound Mr. Judson was removed from his house. In a short time he was again thrown down, the cords drawn more tightly, and repeated strokes of the knee made on his back, so as almost to induce fainting. Money was then demanded for loosening the cords. "A Christian native, who had followed at a distance, now came forward and offered to go back for the money, but before his return the anguish endured was so great that Mr. Judson was obliged to appeal to the numerous bystanders. 'Is there no one who knows me? Is there no one who will be my security for the money—no one who pities me? I am a priest, and though a foreign one,

* Two accounts were written by Mrs. Judson of the events of this period, one of which she addressed to Joseph Butterworth, Esq., of London, and the other to Dr. Elnathan Judson, a brother of the missionary. An account from Dr. Price was also published shortly afterward.

deserve not such indignity, such torture.' But none stepped forward, and the cruel monster persisted in tightening the cords until the arrival of Moung Ing, with ten ticals of pure silver, when his arms were somewhat relieved, so as to allow a more free respiration, and he was again hurried forward a distance of nearly two miles to the prison-house."* Here the order to commit the missionaries to the death-prison was read. According to Dr. Price it was very laconic. "P. and J. catch and put in prison." The dreaded functionary who presided over this fearful abode immediately took charge of Mr. Judson, who, having been fettered with three pairs of irons, was "strung" on a bamboo pole, on which were five foreign residents, who had been taken a few hours before.†

A few hours after Mr. Judson's capture, Dr. Price was seized and taken to the same dreary abode. His sensations on entering the prison he has thus described: "Horror of horrors! what a sight! Never to my dying day shall I forget the scene; a dim lamp in the midst, just making darkness visible, and discovering to my horrified gaze sixty or seventy wretched objects, some in long rows, made fast in the stocks, some strung on poles, some simply fettered; but all sensible of a new accession of misery in the approach of a new prisoner. Stupefied, I stopped to gaze till, goaded on, I proceeded toward the farther end, when I again halted. A new and unexpected sight met my eyes. Till now I had been kept in ignorance of the

* Dr. Price.

† "At first," according to the testimony of Mr. Laird, one of the captives, "the whole of the prisoners had a long bamboo passed between the legs, over the fetters, so that one leg rested on the bamboo and the other on the platform on which we lay."

fate of my companions; a long row of white objects, stretched on the floor in a most crowded situation, revealed to me, however, but too well their sad case." In this company he found Mr. Judson. Though it might have been thought that the presence of his associate would have been almost a cause of gladness, yet our subject, altogether forgetful of himself, exclaimed to Dr. Price, "We all hoped you would have escaped, you were so long coming."

"Here," writes Dr. Price, "side by side we were allowed the only gratification left, of condoling in the Burman language with each other. 'Now you are arrived, and our number is complete, I suppose they will proceed to murder us,' was the first thing suggested, and no one could say it was improbable. To prepare for a violent death, for immediate execution, was our consequent resolution. And now we began to feel our Strength, our Strong-hold, our Deliverer in this dark abode of misery. He who has said, 'I will never leave you nor forsake you,' manifested his gracious presence; a calm and sweet peace succeeded to our hurried minds, and alternate prayer and repeating of hymns soon brought our minds to a state of comparative gladness and joy. We became lifted above our persecutors, and the hymn containing the words

> 'Let men of spite against me join,
> They are the sword, the hand is Thine,'

was peculiarly applicable and refreshing."

Thus did the Lord manifest his presence to his servants, though they had no bed but the filthy, greasy floor of the prison, and were unable to move their bodies for the bamboo which passed through their limbs. At the same time the stench was almost intolerable;

and the night being rainy, the water found a ready entrance through the boards of their prison.

In the morning the prisoners were let out a few minutes into the fresh air. "Ye who ride for pleasure," exclaims Dr. Price, "believe me when I assert, you never enjoyed an hour worthy to be compared to these few minutes; and then to get out into the fresh air! The rain, the mud we heeded not. Our enjoyment was pure; but, alas! like all things here below, soon to cease. Again we were turned in, and, notwithstanding our remonstrances, again obliged to take our stations as before."

Mrs. Judson was placed under surveillance for the first two days of her husband's incarceration, but on the third day she was relieved from the presence of her guard, and having visited the governor, obtained from him an order for her admission to the prison. In her letter to Dr. Elnathan Judson, she says: "The sensations produced by meeting your brother in that wretched, horrid situation, and the affecting scene which ensued, I will not attempt to describe. Mr. Judson crawled to the door of the prison—for I was not allowed to enter—gave me some directions relative to his release; but before we could make any arrangement, I was ordered to depart by those iron-hearted jailers, who could not endure to see us enjoy the poor consolation of meeting in that miserable place. In vain I pleaded the order from the Governor for my admittance; they again harshly repeated, 'Depart, or we will pull you out.'"

Having made a payment of a hundred ticals for each of the missionaries, "the same evening," Mrs. Judson writes, "the missionaries, together with the other foreigners, who paid an equal sum, were taken out of the

common prison, and confined in an open shed in the prison inclosure. Here I was allowed to send them food, and mats to sleep on; but was not permitted to enter again for several days."

Although relieved from some physical discomforts, Mr. Judson was still the subject of great mental suffering. The lot of a prisoner of war in more civilized countries exceeds in its discomforts that of a criminal, on account of its uncertainties. But a prisoner on account of war, subject to the power of a government which knew nothing of moral responsibility, and inflicted on its own subjects tortures and death in accordance with any whim which it might happen to entertain, had every thing to fear. One of the first scenes which the missionaries were compelled to behold was the torture of a criminal, whose shoulders and hip joints were almost or quite dislocated by the ingenious appliances of Burman cruelty. "We only anticipated," Dr. Price says, "in every contortion and groan of the unhappy man the state we might soon be in." Then there was reason for great alarm on account of the keeper to whose charge they were chiefly committed, for, like most Burman constables, he was a reprieved malefactor. As described by Mr. Crawfurd, who saw him in 1826, he was "an old man of sixty, lean, and of a most villainous countenance. He was by birth of the tribe of the Kyens, had murdered his master, and had a large circle on each cheek, with the Burman words 'Lu that,' or man-killer, in very large letters on his breast." This man seemed to delight in the sufferings of those committed to his charge. In addition to these things, Mr. Judson thought of *a wife* just returned from the refined society of England and America, liable to all the savage cruelties he was enduring.

Already she had been threatened with violence, and in every effort to minister to him she was at fearful peril. What might befall her it was impossible to conjecture, but as her husband pondered on the variety of evils which beset her pathway, his mind had cause for constant agitation.

The presence of Mrs. Judson, though a cause of anxiety, was nevertheless an incalculable blessing. Her heroic and unfaltering intercessions with those in authority, combined with her personal ministry for his relief, to all human appearance, were indispensable to the preservation of his life. Little did either imagine, when she returned to Burmah, the purposes to which her restored health was to be devoted; but it is not difficult for us to see an interposition of Divine mercy in giving her back to her husband with recruited energies at this period. Infinite Wisdom had appointed that he should be tried as with fire; and yet there was to be some mercy in the terrible baptism. Amid even his sorrow he might have exclaimed—

> "Thy ways, O Lord, with wise design,
> Are framed upon Thy throne above,
> And every dark and bending line
> Meets in the center of Thy love."

When first incarcerated, Mrs. Judson entertained considerable hope that relief might be found for her afflicted partner if she could secure the favorable regard of the queen. No person being admitted into the palace who was in disgrace with the king, she determined to see the sister-in-law of her majesty, hoping to interest her in his behalf. This interview she has described: "I had visited her in better days, and received particular marks of her favor. But now times were altered; Mr. Judson was in prison, and I

in distress, which was a sufficient reason for giving me a cold reception. I took a present of considerable value. She was lolling on her carpet as I entered, with her attendants around her. I waited not for the usual question to a suppliant, 'What do you want?' but in a bold, earnest, yet respectful manner, stated our distresses and our wrongs, and begged her assistance. She partly raised her head, opened the present I had brought, and coolly replied, 'Your case is not singular; all the foreigners are treated alike.' 'But it is singular,' said I; 'the teachers are Americans; they are ministers of religion, have nothing to do with war or politics, and came to Ava in obedience to the king's command. They have never done any thing to deserve such treatment, and is it right they should be treated thus?' 'The king does as he pleases,' said she; 'I am not the king; what can I do?' 'You can state their case to the queen, and obtain their release,' replied I. 'Place yourself in my situation; were you in America, your husband, innocent of crime, thrown into prison, in irons, and you a solitary, unprotected female, what would you do?' With a slight degree of feeling, she said, 'I will present your petition; come again to-morrow.'"

Mrs. Judson "returned to the house with considerable hope that the speedy release of the missionaries was at hand." The morrow came, and it may be believed that with no small degree of interest she sought to learn the result of her appeal. Alas! her "hopes were dashed" by the announcement—"I stated your case to the queen, but her majesty replied, '*The teachers will not die; let them remain as they are.*'"

After hearing this sentence, which, she records, was "like a thunder-clap to my feelings," Mrs. Judson, on

her way home, attempted to enter the prison-gate, but was refused admittance, and for the ten days following, notwithstanding her daily efforts, was not allowed to enter. "We attempted," she says, "to communicate by writing, and after being successful for a few days, it was discovered; the poor fellow who carried the communications was beaten and put in the stocks, and the circumstance cost me about ten dollars, besides two or three days of agony for fear of the consequences."

Afterward they discovered other and safer methods of correspondence. Mrs. Judson says: "The means which we invented for communication were such as necessity alone could have suggested. At first I wrote to him on a flat cake baked for the purpose, and buried it in a bowl of rice; and in return he communicated his situation on a piece of tile, on which, when wet with water, the writing became invisible, but when dried, perfectly legible. But after some months' experience, we found the most convenient as well as safest mode of writing was to roll up a chit and put it in the long nose of a coffee-pot in which I sent his tea. These circumstances may appear trivial, but they serve to show to what straits and shifts we were driven; it was a crime of the highest nature to be found making communications to a prisoner, however nearly related."

After being repulsed by the queen's sister-in-law, Mrs. Judson says in her letter to Mr. Butterworth: "I felt ready to sink down in despair, as there was then no hope of Mr. Judson's release from another quarter; but a recollection of the judge in the parable, who, though he feared not God, nor regarded man, was moved by the importunities of a widow, induced me to resolve to continue my visits until the object was attained. But here also I was disappointed: for after entreating

her many times to use her influence in obtaining the release of the missionaries, she became so irritated at my perseverance that she refused to answer my questions, and told me by her looks and motions that it would be dangerous to make any further effort."

Though so often disappointed, Mrs. Judson's efforts for the release of the prisoners were not intermitted. "For the seven following months," she writes, "hardly a day passed that I did not visit some one of the members of government or branches of the royal family, in order to gain their influence in our behalf; but the only benefit resulting was, their encouraging promises preserved us from despair, and induced a hope of the speedy termination of our difficulties, which enabled us to bear our distresses better than we otherwise should have done. I ought, however, to mention that, by my repeated visits to the different members of government, I gained several friends, who were ready to assist me with articles of food, though in a private manner, and who used their influence in the palace to destroy the impression of our being in any way engaged in the present war. But no one dared to speak a word to the king or queen in favor of a foreigner while there were such continual reports of the success of the English arms."

Such were some of the events without the prison, but it is difficult for any to realize what passed within. Day after day, week after week, and month after month of confinement and anxiety passed in the three pairs of fetters. The "continual extortions and oppressions" of the first seven months, one of Mrs. Judson's letters declares "indescribable." "Sometimes sums of money were demanded, sometimes pieces of cloth, and handkerchiefs; at other times an order would be

issued that the white foreigners should not speak to each other, or have any communication with their friends without. Then, again, the servants were forbidden to carry in their food without an extra fee."

In January, 1825, Mrs. Judson became the mother of a little girl. In remembrance of the kindness she had received in England in the family of Joseph Butterworth, Esq., the child was named Maria Eliza Butterworth Judson. When this child was twenty days old, she caused her to be carried to the prison as she went to visit her husband. It is difficult for man to conceive of a more touching scene than the subsequent interview. Mr. Judson at this time composed some verses which, though they have been frequently printed, it would be unpardonable to omit.

LINES ADDRESSED TO AN INFANT DAUGHTER, TWENTY DAYS OLD, IN THE CONDEMNED PRISON AT AVA.

Sleep, darling infant, sleep,
Hushed on thy mother's breast;
Let no rude sound of clanking chains
Disturb thy balmy rest.

Sleep, darling infant, sleep,
Blest that thou canst not know
The pangs that rend thy parents' hearts,
The keenness of their woe.

Sleep, darling infant, sleep;
May Heaven its blessings shed,
In rich profusion, soft and sweet,
On thine unconscious head!

Why ope thy little eyes?
What would my darling see?
Her sorrowing mother's bending form?
Her father's misery?

Wouldst view this drear abode,
Where fettered felons lie,
And wonder that thy father here
Such place should occupy?

Wouldst mark the dreadful sights
That stoutest hearts appall—
The stocks, the cord, the fatal sword,
The torturing iron mall?

No, darling infant, no;
Thou seest them not at all;
Thou only mark'st the rays of light
That flit along the wall.

Thine untaught infant eye
Can nothing clearly see;
Sweet scenes of home and prison scenes
Are all the same to thee.

Stretch, then, thy little arms,
And roll thy vacant eye;
Reposing on thy mother's breast
In soft security.

Go, darling infant, go;
Thine hour is past away;
The jailer's voice, in accents harsh,
Forbids thy longer stay.

God grant that we may meet
In happier times than this,
And with thine angel-mother dear,
Enjoy domestic bliss.

But should the gathering clouds
That Burmah's sky o'erspread
Conduct the fatal vengeance down
Upon thy father's head,

Where couldst thou shelter find?
And whither wouldst thou stray?
What hand support thy tottering steps
And guide thy darkling way?

There is a God on high,
The glorious King of kings;
'Tis He to whom thy mother prays,
Whose love she sits and sings.

That glorious God, so kind,
Has sent his Son to save
Our ruined race from sin and death,
And raise them from the grave.

And to that covenant God
My darling I commend;
Be thou the helpless orphan's stay,
Her Father and her Friend.

Inspire her infant heart
The Saviour's love to know,
And guide her through this dreary world—
This wilderness of woe.

Thou sleep'st again, my lamb,
And heed'st not song nor prayer;
Go, sleeping in thy mother's arms,
Safe in a mother's care.

And when in future life
Thou know'st thy father's tongue,
These lines will show thee how he felt—
How o'er his babe he sung.

During all the time of Mr. Judson's incarceration the war had been proceeding in the lower provinces of the empire, and with disastrous results to the Burmese. Nevertheless, they still showed no disposition to treat for peace. In the beginning of 1825, Sir Archibald Campbell, the commander of the British forces, seeing it was evident that the war would be indefinitely protracted, unless he carried his conquests into the heart of the country, resolved to march on Prome. This proceeding on his part, while it intimidated the powers at Ava, caused them to meditate further, if

not fatal, vengeance on the foreigners whom they held in captivity. The effect of their designs Mr. Judson was soon made to know. For some time, while the other white prisoners had lived in an open shed, he had been permitted to occupy a small bamboo room his wife had made for him, in which he was much by himself, and where he had sometimes the privilege of her company for two or three hours at a time. One morning in March this little room was torn down, and his mat, pillow, etc., taken by his jailers, and himself and the other white prisoners thrust into the inner prison, and five pairs of fetters placed on each. This treatment, though very severe, was, it was afterward found, by no means equal to the directions which had been given by persons high in authority.

Mrs. Judson determined to see the governor, on whom her appeals had been often successful, to know the cause of this new oppression. In the morning, on going to his house, she saw his wife, who was ordered to tell her "not to ask to have the additional fetters taken off, or the prisoners released, for it could not be done." Nevertheless, she resolved to see the governor, and in the evening again repaired to his house. The interview she has thus described: "He was in his audience room, and, as I entered, looked up without speaking, but exhibited a mixture of shame and affected anger in his countenance. I began by saying, 'Your lordship has hitherto treated us with the kindness of a father. Our obligations to you are very great. We have looked to you for protection from oppression and cruelty. You have in many instances mitigated the sufferings of those unfortunate though innocent beings committed to your charge. You have promised me particularly that you

would stand by me to the last, and though you should receive an order from the king, you would not put Mr. Judson to death. What crime has he committed to deserve such additional punishment?' The old man's hard heart was melted, for he wept like a child. 'I pity you, Tsa-yar-ga-dau (a name by which he always called me); I knew you would make me feel; I therefore forbade your application. But you must believe me when I say I do not wish to increase the sufferings of the prisoners. When I am ordered to execute them, the least that I can do is to put them out of sight. I will now tell you,' continued he, 'what I have never told you before, that three times I have received intimations from the queen's brother to assassinate all the white prisoners privately: but I would not do it. And I now repeat it, though I execute all the others, I will never execute your husband. But I can not release him from his present confinement, and you must not ask it.' I had never seen him manifest so much feeling, or so resolute in denying me a favor, which circumstance was an additional reason for thinking dreadful scenes were before us."

The situation of the prisoners Mrs. Judson describes as "distressing beyond description. It was at the commencement of the hot season. There were above a hundred prisoners shut up in one room, without a breath of air, excepting from the cracks in the boards. I sometimes obtained permission to go to the door for five minutes, when my heart sickened at the wretchedness exhibited. The white prisoners, from incessant perspiration and loss of appetite, looked more like the dead than the living. I made daily applications to the governor, offering him money, which he refused; but all that I gained was permission for the foreigners

to eat their food outside, and this continued but a short time."

To the tender frame of Mr. Judson, already worn down by his sufferings, these added severities were productive of serious consequences. After a month's incarceration

> "Within a dungeon, mildewed by the night,
> Barred from salubrious air and cheering light,"

he was taken with a fever. "I felt assured," Mrs. Judson writes, "he would not live long, unless removed from that noisome place. The governor, being worn out with my entreaties, at length gave me the order, in an official form, to take Mr. J. out of the large prison, and place him in a more comfortable situation, and also gave orders to the head jailer to allow me to go in and out, all times of the day, to administer medicines, etc. I now felt happy indeed, and had Mr. J. instantly removed into a little bamboo hovel, so low that neither of us could stand upright—but a palace in comparison to the place he had left."

Two or three days had been passed in this seeming "palace," when further miseries passed upon them. The most distinguished Burman general, Bandoola, having been killed in battle, "the pakan woon, who, a few months before, had been so far disgraced by the king as to be thrown into prison and irons, now offered himself to head a new army, that should be raised on a different plan from those which had hitherto been raised, and assured the king, in the most confident manner, that he would conquer the English, and restore those places that had been taken, in a very short time."

In consequence of his exaltation to power, an order was issued for the removal of the white prisoners to

Oung-pen-la, a place situated beyond Amarapoora, some ten or twelve miles from Ava. This removal was sudden and unexpected. Mrs. Judson, in order to visit her husband, was accustomed to carry his food to the prison herself. She had brought his breakfast to him one morning, which in consequence of fever he was unable to take, and had remained longer than usual, when she was summoned to visit the governor. Immediately after she had gone out, "one of the jailers rushed into Mr. Judson's little room, roughly seized him by the arm, pulled him out, stripped him of all his clothes excepting shirt and pantaloons, took his shoes, hat, and all his bedding, tore off his chains, tied a rope around his waist, and dragged him to the court-house." Here he was bound to another of his companions in misery, and "delivered into the hands of the lamine-woon, who went on before them on horseback, while his slaves drove the prisoners, one of the slaves holding the rope which connected two of them together." In this manner they proceeded on their march. Mrs. Judson describes it:

"It was in May, one of the hottest months in the year, and eleven o'clock in the day, so that the sun was intolerable indeed. They had proceeded only half a mile, when your brother's feet became blistered; and so great was his agony, even at this early period, that as they were crossing the little river, he ardently longed to throw himself into the water to be free from misery. But the sin attached to such an act alone prevented. They had then eight miles to walk. The sand and gravel were like burning coals to the feet of the prisoners, which soon became perfectly destitute of skin, and in this wretched state they were goaded on by their unfeeling drivers, leaving behind, as they passed

along, the bloody tracks of their raw and lacerated feet." Some idea of the truthfulness of this description may be gained from the fact that Mr. Judson's feet were torn in such a manner that for six weeks he was not able to stand.

In speaking of this journey, Dr. Dowling has suggested that "a march like this of eight or nine miles, under a burning sun, with naked feet, exposed to the scorching sand and the sharp gravel, would have been a severe infliction even for a healthy man, how much more so for these poor suffering victims, whose limbs were stiffened and bruised with the torturing fetters they had so long worn, and whose bodies were emaciated with the privations and sickness of their protracted and painful imprisonment." As his wife remarks: "Mr. Judson's debilitated state, in consequence of fever, and having taken no food that morning, rendered him less capable of bearing such hardships than the other prisoners."

It is no wonder, exhausted with the travel to which he was exposed that he thought even the heart of a barbarian might show some sympathy. "When about half way on their journey, as they stopped for water," he "begged the lamine-woon to allow him to ride his horse a mile or two, as he could proceed no farther in that dreadful state."

To this petition "a scornful, malignant look was all the reply that was made;" but nevertheless He who suffereth not a sparrow to fall unnoticed to the ground, had provided him a yoke-fellow who was a strong, healthy man, and to him, as a companion in misfortune, he applied for help, begging to be allowed to "take hold of his shoulder, for he was fast sinking. This the kind-hearted man granted for a mile or two, but then

found the additional burden insupportable. Just at that period, Mr. Gougér's Bengalee servant came up to them, and, seeing the distresses of your brother, took off his head-dress, which was made of cloth, tore it in two, gave half to his master, and half to Mr. Judson, which he instantly wrapped round his wounded feet, as they were not allowed to rest even for a moment. The servant then offered his shoulder to Mr. Judson, who was almost carried by him the remainder of the way."* Through this man's assistance he reached the court-house at Amarapoora.

To one of the prisoners, an old man, named Constantine, a Greek, the journey proved fatal. He was taken out of the prison at Ava in perfect health, but was so overcome by the sun that he fell down on the way. "His inhuman drivers beat and dragged him until they themselves were wearied, when they procured a cart, in which he was carried the remaining two miles. But the poor creature expired in an hour or two after their arrival at the court-house." Mr. Judson considered that had it not been for the Bengalee servant he should have shared his fate.

When the company arrived at Amarapoora, the "lamine-woon, seeing the distressing state of the prisoners, and that one of their number was dead, concluded they should go no farther that night; otherwise they would have been driven on until they reached Oungpen-la the same day. An old shed was appointed for their abode during the night, but without even a mat or pillow, or any thing to cover them. The curiosity of the lamine-woon's wife induced her to make a visit to the prisoners, whose wretchedness considerably exci-

* Letter to Dr. Elnathan Judson.

ted her compassion, and she ordered some fruit, sugar, and tamarinds for their refreshment; and the next morning, rice was prepared for them, and poor as it was, it was refreshing to the prisoners, who had been almost destitute of food the day before."

None of the prisoners being able to walk, carts were provided, and they were thus conveyed to the prison at Oung-pen-la, an old, shattered and roofless building.

In the journey thus taken they were "entirely ignorant of what was to become of them, and when they arrived at Oung-pen-la, and saw the dilapidated state of the prison, they immediately, all as one, concluded that they were to be burned, agreeably to the report which had been previously in circulation at Ava. They all endeavored to prepare themselves for the awful scene anticipated, and it was not until they saw preparations making for repairing the prison, that they had the least doubt that a cruel, lingering death awaited them."

Mr. Judson had been at this new abode but two hours, and was sitting under a low projection outside of the prison, probably meditating on the sorrows and trials of his noble wife, when on lifting his eyes he saw her approaching with her babe. By great perseverance, and after a night of indescribable agony she had discovered his destination, and hastened to share the sorrows of his new place of captivity. It is not wonderful that, with his affection for her, he exclaimed, "Why have you come? I hoped you would not follow, for you can not live here."

At Oung-pen-la "the prisoners were at first chained two and two; but as soon as the jailers could obtain chains sufficient they were separated, and each prisoner had but one pair. While they were coupled, Mr. Jud-

son had Dr. Price for his associate. Though the journey proved so fearful an ordeal, yet in this new place of captivity he was much more comfortably situated than in the city prison. One pair of fetters was used instead of three or five, and "when recovered from his fever and wounds he was allowed to walk in the prison inclosure. In addition to this, "a large airy shed" was "erected in front of the prison, where the prisoners were allowed to remain during the day, though locked up in the little close prison at night."

This comparative relief did not extend beyond the body. Mrs. Judson has spoken of Oung-pen-la as "*that never-to-be-forgotten place.*" To her it proved the scene of greatest trial; for her privations far exceeded any she had been called to endure at Ava. It was, therefore, a place in which her husband experienced great mental anguish. Her sole abode was a little filthy room in the jailer's house. This was half filled with grain, and she was destitute of even a chair or other household conveniences. The very morning after her arrival a native child whom she had taken with her from Ava was seized with small-pox, and shortly after little Maria took the same disease, and over three months passed before her recovery. She was herself taken sick with a disease peculiar to the country; and after making a journey to Ava with great difficulty for medicines, returned to crawl on to a mat in the jailer's house, and laid sick for more than two months.

As Mrs. Judson's sickness deprived her child of its usual sustenance, the jailer, having been bribed by presents, allowed Mr. Judson to come out of his prison to seek aid in the village. Scarcely is it possible to conceive of a more affecting sight than that which was presented when a man, whose memory all Chris-

tendom honors, walked barefooted in shirt and pantaloons through Oung-pen-la, carrying the "emaciated creature around the village to beg a little nourishment from those mothers who had young children."

During all these afflictions, the caprice and arbitrancies of the keeper of the prison often proved a cause of bitter sorrow. "Sometimes our jailer," Mrs. Judson says, "seemed a little softened at our distress, and for several days together allowed Mr. Judson to come to the house, which was to me an unspeakable consolation. Then, again, they would be as iron-hearted in their demands as though we were free from sufferings." Perhaps the reader may form some judgment of this iron-heartedness from the statement of Mr. Laird, that, to extort money from him, he was four or five times put into the stocks, and had to pay four times for the fetters he had on.

In this incarceration subsequently, Mr. Judson and fellow-prisoners escaped the lot which was intended for them. The village of Oung-pen-la was the native place of the pakan-woon, and it was his intention in sending them thither to massacre them at the head of his army, which was to march through Oung-pen-la for the purpose. But about a month after he was raised to power he was suspected of treason, and put to death by being trod upon by elephants.

While Mr. Judson was detained in Oung-pen-la, hostilities had been continued, and with such success on the part of the British, that the Burmans began to find it necessary to negotiate, and a capable interpreter being indispensable, an order was issued for him to repair to Ava. Here he was again placed in prison, but the next day he was sent to the Burman camp at Maloun. In going there he was "crowded into a little

boat, where he had not room sufficient to lie down, and where his exposure to the cold, damp nights threw him into a violent fever, which had nearly ended all his sufferings. He arrived at Maloun on the third day, when, ill as he was, he was obliged to enter immediately on the work of translating. He remained at Maloun six weeks, suffering as much as he had at any time in prison, excepting he was not in irons, nor exposed to the insults of those cruel jailers."

At the end of this time, and within five minutes' notice, he was returned to Ava. "On his way up the river, he accidentally saw the communication made to government respecting him, which was simply this: 'We have no further use for Yoodthan; we therefore return him to the golden city.'" Mrs. Judson having heard of his arrival, sent a message to the governor of the north gate, who had formerly shown a disposition to oblige them, begging him to intercede to prevent his return to prison. He immediately presented a petition to the high court of the empire, offered himself as Mr. Judson's security, and obtained his release.

Our missionary no sooner felt himself at liberty, than he directed his way to his own former residence. Here he found his heroic companion slowly recovering from the spotted fever, which, from its usual fatal character and the want of medical assistance, she had expected would prove fatal; and, indeed, so nearly had her expectations been realized, that she had been pronounced dead by her attendants. For the satisfaction of his surety, Mr. Judson made his residence with him, and as soon as returning health would allow, Mrs. Judson was removed there.

While the events narrated above were taking place, General Campbell, wearied with the dissimulation of

the Burmans, recommenced operations, and with his victorious forces was making his way toward the capital. The king and his advisers had several times rejected the terms offered by the English commander; but they were now greatly humiliated, and, anxious to save the "golden city," sought to reopen negotiations. Mr. Judson was entreated to go as their representative to the English camp; but he declined, and advised their sending Dr. Price, who had no objection to the ambassage. In accordance with this proposition, the latter was sent in company with Dr. Sandford, an English officer who had been taken prisoner. They were not able to induce General Campbell to abate the terms which he had offered, any further than procuring permission that the hundred lacs of rupees he had demanded should be paid in four installments. In addition to this, he gave intimation in strong terms that all the foreign prisoners must be surrendered.

Fresh disasters induced the Burman government to yield to the terms of the British general so far as to send Dr. Price with some of the prisoners, and with an offer of a part of the money. In this second ambassage he was, of course, unsuccessful. Meantime the British forces were continuing their way, and each day saw them nearer the capital. This decisive movement filled the Burmans with alarm, and they determined to make Mr. Judson their ambassador. He was accordingly taken by force and associated with Dr. Price. Six lacs of rupees and most of the English prisoners were sent down with them. Mr. Judson found, as previously reported, that the terms must be scrupulously complied with. "The general and commissioner would not receive the six lacs, neither would they stop their march; but promised if the sum complete reached

them before they should arrive at Ava, they would make peace. The general also commissioned Mr. Judson to collect the remaining foreigners, of whatever country, and ask the question, before the Burmese government, whether they wished to go or stay. Those who expressed a wish to go should be delivered up immediately, or peace would not be made."

Satisfied that further dissimulation and delay must prove hazardous, the Burmans determined to yield all demands.

Now came the time of deliverance. Mrs. Judson says: "In two days from the time of Mr. Judson's return, we took an affectionate leave of the good-natured officer who had so long entertained us at his house, and who now accompanied us to the water-side, and we then left forever the banks of Ava.

"It was on a cool moonlight evening in the month of February* that, with hearts filled with gratitude to God, and overflowing with joy at our prospects, we passed down the Irrawaddy, surrounded by six or eight golden boats, and accompanied by all we had on earth. The thought that we had still to pass the Burman camp would sometimes occur to damp our joy; for we feared that some obstacle might there arise to retard our progress. Nor were we mistaken in our conjectures. We reached the camp about midnight, where we were detained two hours, the woon-gyee and high officers insisting that *we* should wait at the camp, while Dr. Price, who did not return to Ava with your brother, but remained at the camp, should go on with the money, and first ascertain whether peace would be made.

* Hitherto printed "March," but it is obviously an error, as it seems they arrived at the British camp February 22d.

The Burmese government still entertained the idea that, as soon as the English had received the money and prisoners, they would continue their march, and yet destroy the capital. We knew not but that some circumstance might occur to break off the negotiations. Mr. Judson therefore strenuously insisted that he would not remain, but go on immediately. The officers were finally prevailed on to consent, hoping much from Mr. Judson's assistance in making peace.

"We now for the first time for more than a year and a half felt that we were free, and no longer subject to the oppressive yoke of the Burmese. And with what sensations of delight on the next morning did I behold the masts of the steamboat, the sure presage of being within the bounds of civilized life! As soon as our boat reached the shore, Brigadier A. and another officer came on board, congratulated us on our arrival, and invited us on board the steamboat, where I passed the remainder of the day, while your brother went on to meet the general, who, with a detachment of the army, had encamped at Yandabo, a few miles farther down the river. Mr. Judson returned in the evening, with an invitation from Sir Archibald to come immediately to his quarters, where I was the next morning introduced, and received with the greatest kindness by the general, who had a tent pitched for us near his own, took us to his own table, and treated us with the kindness of a father, rather than as strangers of another country."

Two days after their arrival at Yandabo, the treaty of peace was signed, and the following day Dr. Judson wrote once more to America. It may gratify the reader to peruse his account, so Paul-like in its terse enumeration of afflictions:

BRITISH CAMP, YANDABO, *February* 25, 1826.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—We survive a scene of suffering which, on retrospect at the present moment, seems not a reality, but a horrid dream. We are occupying a tent in the midst of Sir Archibald Campbell's staff, and are receiving from him and other British officers all manner of kind attentions, proportionate to the barbarities we have endured for nearly two years.

I was seized on the 8th of June, 1824, in consequence of the war with Bengal, and, in company with Dr. Price, three Englishmen, one Armenian, and one Greek, was thrown into the "death-prison" at Ava, where we lay eleven months—nine months in three pairs, and two months in five pairs, of fetters. The scenes we witnessed and the sufferings we underwent during that period I would fain consign to oblivion. From the death prison at Ava we were removed to a country prison at Oung-pen-la, ten miles distant, under circumstances of such severe treatment that one of our number, the Greek, expired on the road, and some of the rest, among whom was myself, were scarcely able to move for several days. It was the intention of government, in removing us from Ava, to have us sacrificed, in order to insure victory over the foreigners; but the sudden disgrace and death of the adviser of that measure prevented its execution. I remained in the Oung-pen-la prison six months in one pair of fetters, at the expiration of which period I was taken out of irons, and sent under a strict guard to the Burmese head-quarters at Maloun, to act as interpreter and translator. Two months more elapsed, when, on my return to Ava, I was released at the instance of Moung Shaw-loo, the north governor of the palace, and put under his charge. During the six weeks I resided with him, the affairs of government became desperate, the British troops making steady advances on the capital; and after Dr. Price had been twice dispatched to negotiate for peace (a business which I declined as long as possible), I was taken by force and associated with him. We found the British above Pugan, and on returning to Ava with their final terms, I had the happiness of procuring the release of the very last of my fellow-prisoners; and on the 21st inst. obtained the reluctant consent of government to my final departure from Ava with Mrs. Judson.

On my first imprisonment, the small house which I had just erected was plundered, and every thing valuable confiscated. Mrs. Judson, however, was allowed to occupy the place, which she did until my removal to Oung-pen-la, whither she followed. Subsequently to that period she was twice brought to the gates of the grave; the last time with the spotted fever, while I was absent at Maloun. She had been senseless and motionless several days, when the providential release of Dr. Price at the very last extremity gave an opportunity for such ap-

plications as were blessed to her relief. On my return I was astonished to find her in the most emaciated, helpless state, not having heard a word of her illness. She, however, rapidly recovered, and is now in perfect health. Even little Maria, who came into the world a few months after my imprisonment, to aggravate her parents' woes, and who has been, from very instinct it would seem, a poor, sad, crying thing, begins to brighten up her little face, and be somewhat sensible of our happy deliverance.

The treaty of peace was signed yesterday by the respective plenipotentiaries, according to the terms of which, the province of Arracan, and the small provinces of Ya Tavoy and Mergui in the south are ceded to the British. It was this consideration chiefly that induced me to embrace the first opportunity of leaving Ava, where the only object I had in settling was to obtain some toleration for the Christian religion—a favor which I hope now to enjoy without leave from his golden-footed majesty.

Sir Archibald has assigned us a large gun-boat for our accommodation down the river, and we expect to leave this in a very few days.

Respectfully yours,

A. JUDSON, JR.

REV. DR. BALDWIN.*

Mr. and Mrs. Judson remained in the British camp a fortnight. At the end of that time, with a most grateful sense of the kindness of Sir Archibald Campbell and his officers, they resumed their voyage down the river in the boat provided for them. On the 22d of March, Mrs. Judson was able to write: "We have safely arrived in Rangoon, and once more find ourselves in the old mission-house! What shall we render to the Lord for all his mercies?"

Thus, after an absence of two years and three months, our missionary returned to the same place of abode he had occupied previous to the war. In the light then possessed, it is not wonderful that we should find Mrs. Judson writing, "A review of our trip to and adven-

* Dr. Baldwin did not live to receive this joyful intelligence. His decease occurred in August, 1825.

tures in Ava often excites the inquiry, 'Why were we permitted to go?' 'What good has been effected?'" In reference to the same subject, Mr. Judson, writing to Dr. Bolles, says, his sufferings, "it would seem, have been unavailing to answer any valuable missionary purpose, unless so far as they may have been silently blessed to our spiritual improvement and capacity for future usefulness." To those who are acquainted with the history of his life previous to this period, it is difficult to assign a reason for this chastisement; but to Omniscience it may have appeared necessary.

> "Kind, loving is the hand that strikes,
> However keen the smart,
> If sorrow's discipline can chase
> One evil from the heart."

The captivity at Ava, and other sorrowful appointments, may have tended to fit him for the eminent services he was permitted in after times to render to the cause of Christ. Those who find it difficult to understand such appointments of God in his providence, must remember that while "clouds and darkness are round about him, righteousness and judgment are his habitation forever."

Although for "missionary purposes" these almost overwhelming trials seemed at the first retrospect unavailing, yet the missionary in after years doubtless was able to see divine purposes, which at the time were not realized. In the fearful experiences of his captivity, God was in some measure answering his prayers. He had cried earnestly to him for a "little toleration," and he whose liberal bestowments so often exceed the thoughts of his servants, was determined to give a wide door for missionary labor which

the capricious despotism of Burman rulers should not be able to close. But when this wide door was opened, who was to go up and possess the land? There was no missionary organization on which demands fully equal to its resources were not already made. The only probability of its being occupied was by some powerful appeal to the sympathies, prayers, and liberality of Christians bearing the Baptist name, who had hitherto seemed too indifferent to the enterprise. The long suspense in which the Christian world was held concerning the fate of the missionaries at Ava, and the intelligence subsequently received of their hardships, endurance, and deliverance, led to an interest in Christian missions which contributed to a far more efficient occupancy than, judging by the interest previously manifested, there was any reason to hope.

Chapter Eleventh.

FIRST YEAR OF A NEW ERA.

"But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions."—2 Tim. iii. 10, 11.

IT is customary to date a new era in the Burman mission from the close of the war. A large territory was then acquired by the Bengal government, presenting an extensive field for evangelization, while it afforded safety from the intolerance to which hitherto the missionaries had been exposed. The first year of this new era seemed in its beginning to promise to our missionary the "happier times" for which he had prayed in his captivity; but it proved one of the most painful of his whole life. Nevertheless, among the records of this period are to be found evidences of the integrity of his principles and the power of his faith which may fill the reader with admiration.

When Mr. Judson obtained his release from captivity, his thoughts were turned to Mergui or Tavoy, as the scene of his future labors. But after arriving at Rangoon, that place being in the possession of the British, he determined to await a little, on account of the probability of the founding of a new town in the neighborhood of Martaban, on the dividing line between the British and Burmese territories. The prospect that this new town would draw a large population from the Burman side, while it would be more a cen-

tral location, and from the superior productiveness of the adjacent country, prove a place of greater trade, seemed to show that it would be better suited for a mission-station than either of the places first contemplated.

While thus waiting for the founding of the new town, Mr. Judson was invited to accompany Mr. Crawfurd, the British commissioner, to select a spot for its location. Although averse to secular employments, he felt in this case, in serving the government, he could also promote the object of his mission, and determined to comply with the request. He left Rangoon with the commissioner in the steam-vessel Diana, March 31st, and the following day they came to anchor off the new territory.

The next day Mr. Judson records that all were "out early in the morning with the animation of new discoverers—Mr. Crawfurd and other gentlemen of the party aspiring to the honor of founding a town which shall rival the most celebrated ports of the East, and extend the interest and honor of their king and country; myself, while far from being indifferent to the same objects, yet animated by higher hopes and more extended prospects." After four days' search, a spot off Kyaikamee, to which all were at first favorably inclined, was selected, and it was determined formally to found the new town the following day. Accordingly he writes in his journal, April 6, as follows:

"Repaired to the beach, under a bold cliff, on the north-western side of the promontory, in company with the civil and military authorities present, when, by command of the commissioner, the British flag was hoisted, and, under fire of a royal salute and discharge of musketry, the place was taken possession of in the name of the king and the honorable company, and the

ceremonies concluded by reading the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah, and presenting an appropriate prayer. Designation of the new place—Amherst."

The English commissioner, in his "Embassy to Ava," thus speaks of our missionary in connection with this occasion: "The Rev. Mr. Judson pronounced his benediction in a feeling prayer." In a foot note he adds: "The following appropriate scriptural quotations, introduced by Mr. Judson, may be considered as specimens of the good taste and judgment of my amiable friend: 'The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto Thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto Thee.' 'For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron; I will also make thy officers peace, and thy exactors righteousness.' 'Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders.'" These quotations, it will be seen, were selected from the chapter he had read. In view of his experience and knowledge of the "officers" and "exactors" who had hitherto held power, there was doubtless an earnest desire in his heart that the land might have, in its new masters, those who were nearer to the type which inspiration suggested for his prayer.

Strange must have been the feelings of the missionary, as he stood on the company's territory, "invited" there by its servants, and officiating as chaplain at the founding of a new capital. Thirteen years before he had been peremptorily commanded to "leave" its possessions! "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."

Mr. Judson returned to Rangoon on the 9th of April. A few days after, he records the resolve of

Mrs. Judson and himself to be the first settlers in Amherst. Believing that the Lord directed a change in his habitation, like as the children of Israel bore the tabernacle with them, so he took down the zayat, intending to send the boards by an early conveyance to the new town. To his record of having leveled an erection in which he had so often been favored with evidences of Divine goodness, he added, "May the blessing of God rest on it as in days of old."

On his release from Ava Mr. Judson found that the disciples and inquirers had been much scattered, and several had deceased. Some who survived he met with on his passage down the river. To these he gave notice of his intention of settling in the conquered provinces. Others he found in Rangoon. Immediately that the location of the new town was determined on, and Mr. Judson's purpose to settle there known, most of these resolved to remove there.

With the prospects presented in the new provinces, Mr. Judson was indisposed to listen to any proposal which would divert him from his work. Before even he had left the British camp, at Yandabo, he was urgently importuned so far to forego his missionary labor as to become "interpreter to government." After a prayerful consideration, himself and wife concluded it would occupy so large a part of his time as to make him almost useless to the mission, and the appointment was declined. Nevertheless, specious reasons presented themselves in its favor, both of personal enrichment and of economy to the mission, in the fact that a salary was attached to the office equivalent to about three thousand dollars per annum. Mrs. Judson gives us a glimpse of the seeming advantages it presented, and the principle on which it

was refused, in a letter to her sisters: "So you see, my sisters, if we had a wish to accumulate property, what an opportunity we have had. It is true, something might be said about saving money for the mission in this way; but there is a much greater call for entire and exclusively devoted missionaries than for money. Our friends, we doubt not, will supply all our necessary wants, while we shall be able to spend our strength and our energies for the spiritual good of the Burmans, and avoid those temptations attached to a public situation in the world." Many Christians would have viewed a favorable providence in this offer, but the parties concerned regarded it as a test of their consistency to their consecration.

It was probably in consequence of this proposal that the following emphatic avowal was made by Mr. Judson: "I long for the time when we shall be able to re-erect the standard of the Gospel, and enjoy once more the stated worship and ordinances of the Lord's house. I feel a strong desire henceforth to know nothing among this people but Jesus Christ, and him crucified; and under an abiding sense of the comparative worthlessness of all earthly things, to avoid every *secular* occupation, and all literary and scientific pursuits, and devote the remainder of my days to the simple declaration of the precious truths of the Gospel of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ."*

Though such was Mr. Judson's resolution, yet he was afterward induced to yield his objection to secular employment, so far as to consent to spend three or four months in the service of the government, by accompanying an embassage, under Mr. Crawfurd, to

* Letter to Dr. Bolles, March 25, 1826.

Ava, to complete a treaty with the Burmese king, and make arrangements with regard to the boundary lines of the possessions of the two governments. To this proposal he at first gave a decided negative, but at length an inducement was presented which led him to comply. This was the pledge of Mr. Crawfurd to use his interest to "procure the insertion of an article in the treaty favorable to religious toleration—an object which," Mr. Judson writes, "I have had at heart so many years, and which, though now, on account of the opening in the south provinces, not so necessary as formerly, is yet greatly favorable to the gradual introduction of religion into all parts of the country, from the station which we propose occupying."

It seemed reasonable to hope that if a guaranty was given by the British authorities, that the subjects of the Burman empire should not be interfered with in the observance of their religious rites, when in the territories of the company, that the king might be induced to reciprocate such toleration.

While the embassy was waiting final orders from Bengal, being desirous of making a commencement of missionary effort in the new territory, and more especially as longer delay would disappoint those of the converts who had already gone there, Mr. Judson removed his family to Amherst. A comfortable temporary home was found them in a house kindly vacated for Mrs. Judson's accommodation by the civil superintendent.

All things now appeared so favorable for the prosecution of the work of evangelization, that it is not strange that we find Mr. Judson very unwilling to leave his new station. At the same time it seemed probable that at Amherst the hopes of domestic hap-

piness, which sometimes had cheered the sorrows of his captivity, might be realized. But he was ever careful that his own ease or comfort should not interfere with duty. Whenever he found himself tending to a decision which promised to advance his individual happiness, the grounds of it were examined the more carefully. The fact that the journey to Ava called for so much self-denial, was almost an argument in favor of its being undertaken.

Mr. Judson returned to Rangoon, to join the embassy, July 9th. Three days afterward, in acknowledging the benevolence of a friend, he gave an account of his impressions of his new station, and the sacrifice he felt in leaving it:

Rangoon, *July* 12, 1826.

My dear Sir—Your very handsome present of three hundred rupees arrived most opportunely to enable Mrs. Judson to build a temporary mission-house, and set up a small school at Amherst, for which purposes no appropriation had been made by our managing committee at home. I left her there, a few days ago, in the house of Captain Fenwick, civil superintendent, who, immediately on our arrival, vacated it for her present accommodation, and who exerted himself in every possible way to render her situation comfortable during my absence.

We found several of the native converts who had preceded us to that place, and built the first native houses that encroached on the jungle, and disturbed the deer and wild-fowl which had been the undisputed occupants of the peninsula. Two of the men, whose names you may recollect—Moung Shwa-ba and Moung Ing—I have long intended for assistants in the mission, and I have now advised that one of them be immediately employed in the school, and the other as an itinerant missionary among the new settlers.

Mrs. Judson is delighted with her situation and prospects, though all around her is yet wild, and she can expect but very little society at present. There are about fifty houses, chiefly native, exclusive of the military cantonment, and officers' houses, about a mile distant, on the west side of the peninsula; but after the rainy season the influx of native population will probably be very great. The harbor proves to be safe and commodious, and the place evidently possesses capabili-

ties and resources which must render it, in time, a point of considerable importance.

It was with great reluctance that I left Amherst and returned to this place, to accompany the embassy to Ava, according to my engagement with Mr. Crawfurd—an engagement which he obtained by long solicitation, and finally by holding out a temptation that I could not, or rather thought it not my duty to resist: he pledged himself to use his utmost interest to secure in the commercial treaty which he is commissioned to negotiate with the court at Ava, an article in favor of religious toleration, on principles of reciprocity; the Burman government engaging not to persecute their subjects who may embrace the Christian religion, and the British government securing a similar privilege to their subjects in behalf of the religion of Gaudama. I sincerely hope that the business of the embassy will be accomplished in three or four months, and that I shall reach Amherst and recommence missionary operations in November next.

Your donation to the mission, and that of Mr. ———, I regard as peculiarly valuable, because uninfluenced by *solicitation*, personal attachment, or desire of human praise, and therefore affording assurance of having originated in those motives which alone are acceptable in the sight of our blessed Lord; assurance also of being accompanied and followed by that spirit of prayer for the mission which invests the donation with its greatest value.

Mrs. Judson and myself feel much gratified that our missionary efforts have attracted your notice and obtained your approbation; and begging for a continued interest in your good wishes and prayers,

I remain, my dear sir, yours, with much affection and respect,

A. JUDSON, JR.

After some delay the final orders for the envoy were received from Bengal. In these instructions the importance of "consulting with Mr. Judson, and others best acquainted with the character, customs, and feeling of the Burmese," was recognized, affording proof of the estimation in which his services were held.

They left Rangoon September 1st, in the steamboat Diana. On their way up, the vessel was frequently brought to anchor, and an opportunity afforded to visit the towns and villages on the banks of the river. Although Mr. Judson did not at this time engage in any regular missionary services, yet he was not forget

ful of his vocation. Evidence of this was found in subsequent years. In an excursion which Mr. Kincaid made along the Irrawaddy, in 1835, he states that while reading and conversing in one of the monasteries, an elderly priest brought forward the catechism, copied on palm leaf. On inquiring how it was obtained, Mr. Kincaid was informed that he received it from a teacher who came up the river on a *fire ship*.

The Diana reached Ava in four weeks. The commissioner did not, however, obtain an interview with the king till October 21st. The hopes of Mr. Judson were entirely disappointed. Nothing could be gained in the way of toleration. "Reluctant as the government has ever been to enter into any stipulations with a foreign power, they resolved to do nothing more than they were obliged by the treaty of Yandabo; and as that required them to make a commercial treaty, they resolved to confine their discussions to points strictly of that character; so that instead of a treaty of twenty-two articles, calculated to place the relations of the two countries on the most liberal and friendly footing, the treaty just concluded is confined to four, and those utterly insignificant."

In procuring this treaty the commissioner and Mr. Judson were subjected to long and vexatious delays by the procrastinating and frivolous usages of the Burman court. To the missionary the diversion of his time, after so long a suspension of his appropriate labors, was no small sacrifice; but in assisting to make a treaty which secured such inconsiderable results, we may suppose that the negotiations were almost as chafing to his spirit in the king's palace as his incarceration in the death-prison.

While waiting on the Burman court a sad event

occurred. This was the death of Mrs. Judson, which, he says, "has not only thrown a gloom over all my future prospects, but has forever embittered my recollections of the present journey."

The particulars connected with Mrs. Judson's decease are well known through her memoir; but as the reader doubtless desires to behold our subject in every aspect, a letter is here inserted which presents him as the Christian mourner.

TO MRS. HASSELTINE, OF BRADFORD, MASS.

AVA, *December* 7, 1826.

DEAR MOTHER HASSELTINE—This letter, though intended for the whole family, I address particularly to you; for it is a mother's heart that will be most deeply interested in its melancholy details. I propose to give you, at different times, some account of my great, irreparable loss, of which you will have heard before receiving this letter.

I left your daughter, my beloved wife, at Amherst, the 5th of July last, in good health, comfortably situated, happy in being out of the reach of our savage oppressors, and animated in prospect of a field of missionary labor opening under the auspices of British protection. It affords me some comfort that she not only consented to my leaving her, for the purpose of joining the present embassy to Ava, but uniformly gave her advice in favor of the measure, whenever I hesitated concerning my duty. Accordingly I left her. On the 5th of July I saw her for the last time. Our parting was much less painful than many others had been. We had been preserved through so many trials and vicissitudes, that a separation of three or four months, attended with no hazards to either party, seemed a light thing. We parted, therefore, with cheerful hearts, confident of a speedy reunion, and indulging fond anticipations of future years of domestic happiness After my return to Rangoon, and subsequent arrival at Ava, I received several letters from her, written in her usual style, and exhibiting no subject of regret or apprehension, except the declining health of our little daughter, Maria. Her last was dated the 14th of September. She says: "I have this day moved into the new house, and, for the first time since we were broken up at Ava, feel myself at home. The house is large and convenient, and if you were here I should feel quite happy. The native population is increasing very fast, and things wear rather a favorable aspect. Moung Ing's school has commenced with ten scholars, and more are expected. Poor little Maria is still feeble. I sometimes hope

she is getting better; then, again, she declines to her former weakness. When I ask her where papa is, she always starts up, and points toward the sea. The servants behave very well, and I have no trouble about any thing, excepting you and Maria. Pray take care of yourself, particularly as it regards the intermittent fever at Ava. May God preserve and bless you, and restore you in safety to your *new and old* home, is the prayer of your affectionate Ann."

On the 3d of October, Captain F., civil superintendent of Amherst, writes: "Mrs. Judson is extremely well." Why she did not write herself by the same opportunity, I know not. On the 18th, the same gentleman writes: "I can hardly think it right to tell you that Mrs. Judson has had an attack of fever, as before this reaches you she will, I sincerely trust, be quite well, as it has not been so severe as to reduce her. This was occasioned by too close an attendance on the child. However, her cares have been rewarded in a most extraordinary manner, as the poor babe at one time was so reduced that no rational hope could be entertained of its recovery; but at present a most favorable change has taken place, and she has improved wonderfully. Mrs. Judson had no fever last night, so that the intermission is now complete." The tenor of this letter was such as to make my mind quite easy, both as it regarded the mother and the child. My next communication was a letter with a black seal, handed me by a person saying he was sorry to have to inform me of the death of the child. I know not whether this was a mistake on his part, or kindly intended to prepare my mind for the real intelligence. I went into my room, and opened the letter with feelings of gratitude and joy, that at any rate the mother was spared. It was from Mr. B., assistant superintendent of Amherst, dated the 26th of October, and began thus:

My dear Sir: To one who has suffered so much, and with such exemplary fortitude, there needs but little preface to tell a tale of distress. It were cruel indeed to torture you with doubt and suspense. To sum up the unhappy tidings in a few words, *Mrs. Judson is no more.*

At intervals I got through with this dreadful letter, and proceed to give you the substance as indelibly engraven on my heart:

Early in the month she was attacked with a most violent fever. From the first she felt a strong presentiment that she should not recover, and on the 24th, about eight in the evening, she expired. Dr. R. was quite assiduous in his attentions, both as a friend and physician. Capt. F. procured her the services of a European woman from the 45th regiment; and be assured all was done that could be done to comfort her in her sufferings, and to smooth the passage to the grave. We all deeply feel the loss of this excellent lady, whose shortness of residence among us was yet sufficiently long to impress us with a deep sense of her worth and virtues. It was not until about the 20t that Dr. R. began seriously to suspect danger. Before that period the fever had abated at intervals; but its last approach baffled all medical skill. On the morning of the 3d, Mrs. Judson spoke for the last time. The disease had then completed its conquest and

from that time up to the moment of dissolution, she lay nearly motionless, and apparently quite insensible. Yesterday morning I assisted in the last melancholy office of putting her mortal remains in the coffin, and in the evening her funeral was attended by all the European officers now resident here. We have buried her near the spot where she first landed, and I have put up a small, rude fence around the grave, to protect it from incautious intrusion. Your little girl, Maria, is much better. Mrs. W. has taken charge of her, and I hope she will continue to thrive under her care

Two days later, Captain Fenwick writes thus to a friend in Rangoon:

I trust that you will be able to find means to inform our friend of the dreadful loss he has suffered. Mrs. Judson had slight attacks of fever from the 8th or 9th instant, but we had no reason to apprehend the fatal result. I saw her on the 18th, and at that time she was free from fever, scarcely, if at all, reduced. I was obliged to go up the country on a sudden business, and did not hear of her danger until my return on the 24th, on which day she breathed her last, at 8 P. M. I shall not attempt to give you an account of the gloom which the death of this most amiable woman has thrown over our small society. You, who were so well acquainted with her, must feel her loss more deeply; but we had just known her long enough to value her acquaintance as a blessing in this remote corner. I dread the effect it will have on poor Judson. I am sure you will take every care that this mournful intelligence may be opened to him as carefully as possible.

The only other communication on this subject that has reached me, is the following line from Sir Archibald Campbell to the envoy: "Poor Judson will be dreadfully distressed at the loss of his good and amiable wife. She died the other day at Amherst, of remittent fever, eighteen days ill."

You perceive that I have no account whatever of the state of her mind, in view of death and eternity, or of her wishes concerning her darling babe, whom she loved most intensely. I hope to glean some information on these points from the physician who attended her, and the native converts who must have been occasionally present.

I will not trouble you, my dear mother, with an account of my own private feelings—the bitter, heart-rending anguish which for some days would admit of no mitigation, and the comfort which the Gospel subsequently afforded—the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which brings life and immortality to light. Blessed assurance—and let us apply it afresh to our hearts—that, while I am writing and you perusing these lines, her spirit is resting and rejoicing in the heavenly paradise—

> "Where glories shine, and pleasures roll
> That charm, delight, transport the soul,
> And every panting wish shall be
> Possessed of boundless bliss in Thee."

And there, my dear mother, we also shall soon be, uniting and participating in the felicities of heaven with her for whom we now mourn. Amen. Even so come, Lord Jesus.'"

The anguish of Mr. Judson on receiving the intelli-

gence of this bereavement, it will be seen as described by himself, was "bitter and heart-rending." Dr. Price, who was at that time resident at the Burman capital, writes in his journal November 24th and following day: "The mighty loss to our mission can not speedily be repaired. I spent the afternoon with my afflicted brother, who is overwhelmed with a load, an insupportable load of grief."*

The Christian world can appreciate the grief of the missionary. In a report presented to the American Baptist Board, by one of its committees in the following year, this language is employed concerning Mrs. Judson. "She was the bosom friend of him who led the way to all that American Christians have been the means of accomplishing toward the conversion of the heathen in distant lands. She was his only companion when he entered the Burman empire. In that remote land of darkness and cruelty, she had toiled with him more than fourteen years, including the period of an absence on account of her declining state of health; and she had toiled amidst almost inconceivable difficulties, amidst daily perils, amidst the sorrows of a mother looking down on the newly-made grave of her first-born and only son; amidst the temptations of the gay and powerful on the one hand, and the oppressions practiced by the avaricious and malignant on the other; amidst flatteries and reproaches; amidst the alarm and dangers of war, and the raging of the heathen; haz-

* Two days after, while at Sakaing, condoling with Mr. Judson, Dr. Price was summoned to attend his own wife, Ma Noo, a Burman, who had been suddenly attacked with cholera. The next day both were mourners. Mr. Judson, in recording her decease, mentions her as the fifth Burman whom he trusted had entered "the rest that remaineth to the people of God."

arding her life to lighten the fetters of her husband, and minister food and consolation to the missionaries in prison." And we have reason to add that her sympathies were not confined to them. After the English prisoners were released, the "overflowings of grateful feelings" compelled one of their number to render public thanks through a Calcutta newspaper, on behalf of himself and fellow-prisoners, to that "amiable and humane female who, though living at a distance of two miles from our prison, without any means of conveyance, and very feeble in health, forgot her own comfort and infirmity, and almost every day visited us, sought out and administered to our wants, and contributed in every way to alleviate our misery. While we were all left by the government destitute of food, she, with unwearied perseverance, by some means or other, obtained for us a constant supply. When the tattered state of our clothes evinced the extremity of our distress, she was ever ready to replenish our scanty wardrobe. When the unfeeling avarice of our keepers confined us inside, or made our feet fast in the stocks, she, like a ministering angel, never ceased her applications to the government, until she was authorized to communicate to us the grateful news of our enlargement, or of a respite from our galling oppressions."

The physician who attended her in her last illness, it will be seen, ascribed the fatal termination of her disease "chiefly to the weakness of her constitution occasioned by the severe and long-protracted sufferings she endured at Ava." With this testimony, it seems as if a wrong would be done her memory if, with the highest estimation of her piety, zeal, and fortitude in life, we should think of her in death and not remember that the stone under the hopia-tree marks a martyr's grave.

To those who are familiar with her history, all attempts at eulogy appear impertinent. Wherever the Gospel is preached she will have her memorial, and generations to come will approve the words of that bereaved husband, who pronounced her "ONE OF THE FIRST OF WOMEN, THE BEST OF WIVES."

The news of this bereavement reached Ava the day after the signing of the treaty. On the 12th of December the Diana commenced her return voyage. In the beginning of the year Mr. Judson had passed down the river filled with sensations of delight, and indulging the fondest anticipations of domestic felicity. Little did he then imagine that at its close he would be again leaving the golden city, and with emotions so different. At Rangoon, where the steamboat stayed a few days, he found war prevailing, the Peguans having risen upon their Burman oppressors. This caused a great destruction of property. From one of the highest roofs within the stockade Mr. Judson obtained a view of the mission-house, but it was quite in ruins. On arriving at Amherst, he found that place in a state of decay, owing to the fact that Sir Archibald Campbell, having fixed his head-quarters at Maulmain, the majority of the settlers had been attracted thither. Thus all things, both at his old and new station, seemed to symbolize the calamities which had befallen himself. He arrived at this latter place January 24th. The following letter to Mrs. Hasseltine was written, it will be seen, a few days after:

AMHERST, *February* 4, 1827.

Amid the desolation that death has made, I take up my pen once more to address the mother of my beloved Ann. I am sitting in the house she built, in the room where she breathed her last, and at a window from which I see the tree that stands at the head of her grave,

and the top of the "small, rude fence" which they have put up "to protect it from incautious intrusion."

Mr. and Mrs. Wade are living in the house, having arrived here about a month after Ann's death; and Mrs. Wade has taken charge of my poor, motherless Maria. I was unable to get any accounts of the child at Rangoon, and it was only on my arriving here, the 24th ultimo, that I learned she was still alive. Mr. Wade met me at the landing-place, and as I passed on to the house, one and another of the native Christians came out, and when they saw me they began to weep. At length we reached the house, and I almost expected to see my love coming out to meet me as usual. But no; I saw only in the arms of Mrs. Wade a poor, little, puny child, who could not recognize her weeping father, and from whose infant mind had long been erased all recollection of the mother who loved her so much.

She turned away from me in alarm, and I, obliged to seek comfort elsewhere, found my way to the grave. But who ever obtained comfort there? Thence I went to the house in which I left her, and looked at the spot where we last knelt in prayer, and where we exchanged the parting kiss.

The doctor who attended her has removed to another station, and the only information I can obtain is such as the native Christians are able to communicate.

It seems that her head was much affected during her last days, and she said but little. She sometimes complained thus: "The teacher is long in coming, and the new missionaries are long in coming; I must die alone, and leave my little one; but as it is the will of God, I acquiesce in his will. I am not afraid of death, but I am afraid I shall not be able to bear these pains. Tell the teacher that the disease was most violent, and I could not write; tell him how I suffered and died; tell him all that you see; and take care of the house and things until he returns." When she was unable to notice any thing else, she would still call the child to her, and charge the nurse to be kind to it, and indulge it in every thing until its father should return. The last day or two she lay almost senseless and motionless on one side, her head reclining on her arm, her eyes closed; and at eight in the evening, with one exclamation of distress in the Burman language, she ceased to breathe.

February 7.—I have been on a visit to the physician who attended her in her illness. He has the character of a kind, attentive, and skillful practitioner, and his communications to me have been rather consoling. I am now convinced that every thing possible was done, and that had I been present myself, I could not have essentially contributed to avert the fatal termination of the disease. The doctor was

with her twice a day, and frequently spent the greater part of the night by her side. He says that, from the first attack of fever, she was persuaded she should not recover; but that her mind was uniformly tranquil and happy in the prospect of death. She only expressed occasional regret at leaving her child and the native Christian schools, before her husband or another missionary family could arrive. The last two days she was free from pain. On her attention being roused by reiterated questions, she replied: "I feel quite well, only very weak." These were her last words.

The doctor is decidedly of opinion that the fatal termination of the fever is not to be ascribed to the localities of the new settlement, but chiefly to the weakness of her constitution, occasioned by the severe privations and long-protracted sufferings she endured at Ava. O, with what meekness, and patience, and magnanimity, and Christian fortitude she bore those sufferings! And can I wish they had been less? Can I sacrilegiously wish to rob her crown of a single gem? Much she saw and suffered of the evil of this evil world, and eminently was she qualified to relish and enjoy the pure and holy rest into which she has entered. True, she has been taken from a sphere in which she was singularly qualified by her natural disposition, her winning manners, her devoted zeal, and her perfect acquaintance with the language, to be extensively serviceable to the cause of Christ; true, she has been torn from her husband's bleeding heart, and from her darling babe; but infinite wisdom and love have presided, as ever, in this most afflicting dispensation. Faith decides that it is all right, and the decision of faith eternity will soon confirm.

I have only time to add—for I am writing in great haste, with very short notice of the present opportunity of sending to Bengal—that poor, little Maria, though very feeble, is, I hope, recovering from her long illness. She began, indeed, to recover while under the care of the lady who kindly took charge of her at her mother's death; but when after Mr. Wade's arrival she was brought back to this house, she seemed to think that she had returned to her former home, and had found in Mrs. Wade her own mother. And certainly the most tender, affectionate care is not wanting to confirm her in this idea.

I remain, my dear mother, yours, in the deepest sorrow,

A. Judson, Jr.

At this point of our narrative we may introduce a record of his disinterestedness in connection with his visit to Ava. On the return of the embassy, on the application of the commissioner to the supreme government, four thousand Sicca rupees were ordered to

be paid him, in consideration of his services, and twelve hundred on account of a loss by robbery at Rangoon. He also received presents at Ava, which he subsequently sold for two thousand rupees. All this, being above four thousand dollars American money, in making out his account for the year 1826, he put to the credit of the American Baptist Board for Foreign Missions. So scrupulously exact was his account, that he charged the board for his own allowance as a married missionary for ten months, and then for two months as a *single* laborer, appending a note, "Mrs. Judson died October 24th." He thought it seldom justifiable for a missionary to turn away from his work, and when such circumstances did arise, he felt that justice demanded that if there was any pecuniary profit it ought not to be devoted to personal enrichment.

Immediately after his release from captivity we have seen that our missionary expressed his ardent desire to erect again the standard of the Gospel. His connection with the embassy, and his long detention at Ava, caused the execution of his cherished purpose to be delayed for several months. But his sense of the importance of resuming his work was not in any way impaired, and great as were the sorrows occasioned by his bereavement, missionary labors were resumed January 28, 1827, the first Lord's day after his return from Ava. He writes in his journal: "This day I recommenced worship in Burmese, after an intermission of two years and a half." Thus he showed, though the sorrows of his bereavement caused him to contemplate his work with diminished pleasure, that he was not forgetful or negligent of his great purpose.

A month after his return, in connection with Mr.

Wade, our subject recognized the first Burman preacher in the person of Moung Ing. The circumstance is thus referred to in his journal:

"*February* 13.—At the evening meeting, which is attended by the native Christians Tuesdays and Fridays, Moung Ing expressed his desire to undertake a missionary excursion to Tavoy and Mergui. We were all particularly pleased with the proposal, as originating with himself, and indicating a state of mind particularly favorable to the spread of the Gospel.

"*February* 25, *Lord's Day.*—After the usual worship we set apart Moung Ing for the work to which we trust he is called by the Spirit of God, appointing him a preacher of the Gospel and teacher of the Christian religion, without the charge of any church or power to administer the ordinances—an appointment similar to that which, in our churches, commonly precedes ordination as a pastor or evangelist, in the higher sense of the word. And being thus commended to the grace of God, he embarked on a native boat bound to Tavoy. May the Divine Spirit accompany, and guide, and prosper the first Burman preacher we have ever sent forth."

In the beginning of April Mr. Judson wrote: "We have been much occupied of late in completing the mat houses which Mrs. Judson had begun, and in clearing away the trees and underwood in the vicinity of the mission premises. We have now room for myself and brother Wade's family."

In this house he was soon called again to drink the cup of affliction. His little daughter, Maria, deceased April 24th. The following letter, addressed to Mrs. Hasseltine, was written immediately after this new bereavement:

AMHERST, *April* 26, 1827.

MY DEAR MOTHER HASSELTINE—My little Maria lies by the side of her fond mother. The complaint to which she was subject several months proved incurable. She had the best medical advice, and the kind care of Mrs. Wade could not have been, in any respect, exceeded by that of her own mother. But all our efforts, and prayers, and tears could not propitiate the cruel disease; the work of death went forward, and after the usual process, excruciating to a parent's heart, she ceased to breathe on the 24th instant, at 3 o'clock, P. M., aged two years and three months. We then closed her faded eyes, and bound up her discolored lips, where the dark touch of death first appeared, and folded her little hands on her cold breast. The next morning we made her last bed in the small inclosure that surrounds her mother's lonely grave. Together they rest in hope, under the hope tree (hopiá), which stands at the head of the graves; and together, I trust, their spirits are rejoicing after a short separation of precisely six months.

And I am left alone in the wide world. My own dear family I have buried; one in Rangoon and two in Amherst. What remains for me but to hold myself in readiness to follow the dear departed to that blessed world,

> "Where my best friends, my kindred, dwell,
> Where God, my Saviour, reigns?"

I remain, my dear mother, yours,

A. JUDSON.

The following letter to the sisters of his late wife, it will be seen, was written some time after the melancholy bereavements which occurred to Mr. Judson. It is, however, proper to insert it in this place:

MAULMAIN, *December* 4, 1827.

MY DEAR SISTERS—It is a most affecting thought to me, that when you were expressing your feelings for my poor motherless Maria, and requesting that she might be sent home, that very day, perhaps hour, death was laying his stiffening hand on her little emaciated form, and turning a deaf, pitiless ear to her agonized father, and the yearning wishes of dear distant relatives Death mocks at us, and tramples our dearest hopes and our lives in the dust. Dreadful tyrant, offspring and ally of sin! But go on now and do thy worst. Thy time will come. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death! Yes, awful power, thou shalt devour thyself and die; and then my angelic Ann, and my meek, blue-eyed Roger, and my tender-hearted, affectionate,

darling Maria, my venerable father,* you, my dear sisters, that still remain, our still surviving parents, and, I hope, myself, though all unworthy, shall all be rescued from the power of death and the grave; and when the crown of life is set on our heads, and we know assuredly that we shall die no more, we shall make heaven's arches ring with songs of praise to Him who hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood.

It is also an affecting thought, that when sister M. was writing hers of the 24th of October, 1826, that very day, perhaps hour, the object of her sisterly love was just becoming incapable of reciprocating the affectionate salutation. Her head was reclining on her arm. She was thinking, I doubt not, of her absent husband, her distant parents and sisters, and above all, of her poor, sickly, orphan child, whose plaintive cries she could no more hush. And she thought, I doubt not, of her Saviour, and the heavenly glory that was just opening to her view. But on all these subjects a cloud of darkness must ever rest, till dispelled by the light of heaven. All my questioning of the people who were about her dying bed has been able to elicit no other particulars besides those which I have already communicated.

You ask many questions in A.'s letter of March 23d about our sufferings at Ava; but how can I answer them now? There would be some pleasure in reviewing those scenes, if she were alive, but now I can not. The only pleasant reflection—the only one that assuages the anguish of retrospection—is, that she now rests far away, where no spotted-faced executioner can fill her heart with terror; where no unfeeling magistrate can extort the scanty pittance which she had preserved through every risk to sustain her fettered husband and famishing babe, no more exposed to lie on a bed of languishment, and stung with the uncertainty, what would become of her poor husband and child when she was gone. No, she has her little ones around her, I trust, and has taught them to praise the Source whence their deliverance flowed. Yes, her little son, his soul enlarged to angel's size, was, perhaps, the first to meet her at heaven's portals, and welcome his mother to his own abode. And her daughter followed her in six short months. Had she remained, it seems to me impossible to have complied with your request, and sent her far from me over the seas.

How happy should I be to find myself once more in the bosom of the family in Bradford, and tell you ten thousand things that I can not put on paper. But this will never be; nor is it of much consequence. A few more rolling suns and you will hear of my death, or I of yours.

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* Mr. Judson had just received intelligence of the death of his father when this letter was written.

Till then believe me your most affectionate brother. And when we meet in heaven—when all have arrived, and we find all safe, forever safe, and our Saviour forever safe and glorious, and in him all his beloved—oh, shall we not be happy, and ever praise him who has endured the cross to "wear and confer such a crown."

Chapter Twelfth.

YEARS OF THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD.

"Now thanks be unto God which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savor of his name by us in every place."—2 Cor. ii. 14.

AS already seen, our missionary recommenced his labors on his return from Ava. The sense of his bereavement in the loss of his wife, and the attention necessarily given to his little girl, followed by a second great sorrow in her decease, caused them to be prosecuted only to a limited extent. For some time after these afflictions, according to his own statement, his exertions were not characterized by the same earnestness which was manifested by him in the first days of his toil in Burmah. It was not long, however, before he was permitted to see remarkable evidence of the power of divine truth, and the reader will find records which could only be made concerning one who was "always abounding in the work of the Lord."

In recommencing missionary labor, Mr. Judson had only Mr. and Mrs. Wade for his associates.* In April, however, the mission was further strengthened by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Boardman. The prospects for evangelization and other interesting particulars are made known in the following letter:

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* Mr. Price remained at Ava after the war, devoting his chief attention to educating sons of leading Burmans, under the patronage of the king. He deceased in February, 1828.

TO THE REV. D. SHARP.

AMHERST, *May* 5, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR—You are doubtless acquainted with the measures we have taken in regard to the formation of a new mission station at this place.

The final disposal of the ceded provinces on this coast is still rather uncertain, the question having been referred to the decision of the court of directors. But it is generally understood that the Burmese government has behaved so ill since the war, in not complying with the terms of the treaty, and in giving the envoy, Mr. Crawfurd, a most ungracious reception at court, that these provinces can not be restored to their former masters; and that the difficulty attending their erection into an independent principality, or transferring them to any neighboring power, will render their final retention necessary, though the British government uniformly profess their reluctance to extend their Indian territories.

The fate of this port is still more dubious, in consequence of Sir Archibald Campbell's having fixed his head-quarters at Maulmain, twenty-five miles up the river, and the uncertainty whether Mr. Crawfurd, or any person interested in the prosperity of Amherst, will be placed in civil charge here.

When I first determined on settling here, it was understood that all the heads of government were unanimous in the purpose of making this the capital of the ceded provinces; but an unhappy misunderstanding took place, and though this is admitted to be the most pleasant place, the most salubrious, the most central, the best, and, indeed, the only port (for ships can not go up the river), Sir Archibald pronounced Maulmain the best military station, and the whole tide of Burmese emigration has flowed thither.

On brother Wade's arrival, and my return from Ava, as we had a house here which Mrs. Judson had begun, we continued to occupy it, and wait for the openings of Providence. On brother Boardman's arrival, he had occasion to go up to Maulmain to obtain medical assistance for Mrs. Boardman, and according to an arrangement we have made, he will probably remain there for the present. Sir Archibald has repeatedly offered us ground for a mission station, and we are pleased with having a footing at both places, that we may with greater facility occupy that which will become the permanent seat of government, or perhaps both, if the native population of both, and other circumstances, shall appear to warrant such a division of our strength.

The expense of building such mat houses as our present necessities require is not large. We have expended about three hundred dollars

in Amherst, and have sufficient accommodation for myself and brother Wade's family, besides a commodious zayat for the female school. And even this appropriation has not been made from the funds furnished from America, but from donations made us for the express purpose of building. Since the close of the war, I have been able, from money paid me by the British government, presents lately made me at Ava, and donations to the mission, to pay into the funds of the board above four thousand dollars, which, after deducting such expenses as our regulations allow, together with the last donation from Madras, I have remitted to Mr. Pearce, of Calcutta.

The long interruption of our missionary work, occasioned by our troubles at Ava, the domestic calamities which have since overwhelmed me in quick succession, and the hitherto unfavorable circumstances of Amherst, have operated to prevent my returning with much ardor to my usual occupations. I am, however, endeavoring to do a little. We have a small assembly of twenty-five or thirty on Lord's days, and our daily family worship is not unfrequently attended by a few inquirers. One woman desires to profess our religion, and has lately given some satisfactory evidence that she is sincere. A few respectable men declare themselves convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, but we discern yet no traces of the renewing influences of the Spirit on their hearts.

Three only of the Rangoon converts are now with us. The rest are dead, or scattered in different parts of the country. So far as I have been able to ascertain the circumstances of those who died in my absence, and those who still remain, I believe that, with the exception of two, who were excluded from the church in Rangoon for neglecting to attend worship, none of the baptized have disgraced their holy profession. I do not, of course, speak of two or three cases which required temporary church discipline.

Moung Ing lately went on a mission to Mergui (Bike), the place of his former residence, where he has set up Christian worship, and has, he writes me, several inquirers.

I commend my sorrows to your sympathetic remembrance, and, begging an interest in your prayers, remain, my dear sir,

Yours faithfully,

A. JUDSON.

In describing his personal labors for June, our subject wrote, July 3d: "For a month past I have been chiefly employed in revising the New Testament, in several points which were not satisfactorily settled

when the translation was made. Have also completed two catechisms for the use of Burman schools, the one astronomical, in thirty-eight questions and answers, the other geographical, in eighty-nine, accompanied by a map of the world, with Burman names."

Schools, it is well known, could only be undertaken at great disadvantages, while the mission was conducted in the Burman empire; for the only means by which the missionaries could hope to teach the young was by acquiring an absolute property in them. While Mrs. Judson was in England, contributions were made in order that children might be purchased for the purpose of receiving a Christian education. At Ava she had two or three pupils, who had been given her by their father, and, had the mission been continued without interruption, it is probable that either by gift or by redemption from slavery she would soon have gathered a considerable number of scholars. On removing to Amherst she commenced her efforts anew, under more favorable auspices, but, owing to uncertainty with regard to the fortunes of the new town, not with the success which had been anticipated. These schools were afterward resumed under charge of Mrs. Wade. It was Mr. Judson's custom to conduct daily family worship, and frequently to give religious instruction to the scholars.

In conjunction with Mr. Wade, our subject made the following report concerning these schools, in 1827:

TO THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

AMHERST, *June* 7, 1827.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—The native female boarding school at present consists of fifteen girls, who are mostly between the ages of five and twelve years. Fourteen of them are Burmese or Talings, and one Armenian, whose parents both died during the war. We have named her Sarah Wayland. She is, though very young, of longer

standing in the school than any other, except Mary Hasseltine. Rachel Euphemia Thompson—or, as we call her, Euphemia—is one of the youngest but most promising in the school. Besides these three, we have not given names to any of the scholars, and, unless the board particularly recommend it, we have thought it not advisable, on account of the peculiar difficulty the Burmese have in pronouncing foreign names, and for other reasons.

Mrs. Wade spends seven hours a day in the midst of the scholars, teaching them to read and sew, and repeat from memory such elementary works as are prepared for them, religious and scientific. They are uncommonly attached to their instructress, and are characterized by a tractable, confiding disposition, which renders them easy of management.

We beg the prayers of all those who contribute to their support, that they may make that progress in useful knowledge, and that improvement in manners and morals which will exert a meliorating influence on the society with which they will hereafter mingle; but above all, that their minds may be enlightened and their hearts inspired by the Holy Spirit to know and love the Saviour of sinners.

We remain, reverend and dear sir, yours, faithfully,

A. JUDSON,
J. WADE.

In July, also, Mr. Judson commenced a translation of the Book of Psalms. On the eleventh of the same month he received letters from America, the first which had been written subsequent to his release. He writes in his journal: "Was much gratified to find that, in recommencing the work of translation, I was anticipating the particular wishes of the board."

In August he went to Maulmain, with a view of visiting Mr. Boardman. After a stay of several weeks he resolved to remove to that station. The causes which had retarded the growth of Amherst still continued, and the increasing population of Maulmain seemed to make the path of duty clear. In repairing to the newer station, it was true, the graves of Mrs. Judson and her child must be left. This was no small sacrifice; but when duty called him away to preach the Gospel, Mr. Judson was not a disciple to delay or de-

cline for the burial-places of his dead. So he writes as follows, October 2d: "We have been lately clearing up part of our ground contiguous to the road, and removing some of the native houses, with a view to building a house for brother Wade and myself, as we have now concluded to abandon Amherst altogether, with the little inclosure, the hope tree, and the graves which contain the moldering remains of all that were dearest to me on earth."

Shortly after he removed to Maulmain, Mr. Judson had the privilege of again seeing the Burman preacher, Moung Ing, who had been absent seven months, which time he had chiefly spent in Mergui. He records in his journal, October 19th, that he had "spent the evening in hearing him relate his adventures." It is probable that with no more interest did the church at Antioch listen to Barnabas and Paul "when they rehearsed all that God had done with them," than did the first American missionary hear from the first Burman evangelist his reports of missionary labor.

On the 4th of November Mr. Judson and Mr. Wade took possession of their new house, the erection of which had occupied considerable of Mr. Judson's time during the previous month, and even till they made it their habitation. On the last Lord's day of the month he writes: "We have arranged a large room in the front of the house, in the manner of a zayat, and today set up worship, in the *old Rangoon fashion;* and a busy day it has been. About seventy persons, great and small, attended worship in the forenoon; after which, twenty or thirty women followed Mrs. Wade into another room, and listened to her instructions. In the evening we had about thirty; and after worship some animated conversation ensued, in which Mah

Doke's husband, Moung Dwah, came out very decidedly on the side of Christianity. Moung Ing has a good degree of missionary spirit, and affords much assistance in the work."

Several instances of religious inquiry at this time afforded considerable pleasure. The Talings, otherwise known as Peguans, having been vanquished in their attempt to reassert their independence, had been compelled to flee in large numbers to the British territories. The following record from Mr. Judson's journal, December 11th, it will be seen, refers to one of these people: "Moung Noo, another of our neighbors, the youngest of four brethren, came in last Sunday, just at night, and after hearing some plain truths, he staid during evening worship, and paid uncommon attention. This morning he came again, and this evening again. After worship, he inquired with feeling: 'What shall I do to be saved?' 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ.' 'I do believe—I do believe. This religion is right. I have been all wrong. What shall I now do?' 'If you have begun to believe, let your faith increase. Attend worship. Keep the Lord's day. Become the Saviour's servant. Do all his will. Give yourself, soul and body, into his hands. Will you do so?' 'I will, I will. But I do not know all his will.' 'Read the Scriptures.' 'I can read Taling only, not Burman.' 'Come, then, and we will read to you. Come every day to worship, and at all times of day, and we will instruct you.'

"The case of this poor man," our subject wrote, "is the case of a large majority of the population of these parts. They understand the Scriptures in Burman, when read, but can not read themselves." Never at a loss for expedients for evangelization, a plan of opera-

tion was struck out at once. "I felt the necessity of having the Scriptures constantly read in some public place—in a word, of setting up *a reading zayat*, to be occupied by one of the native Christians."

A record in his journal the very next day shows his zeal for the accomplishment of his new project. "Conversed with Moung Shwa-ba on the project of a reading zayat, and he entered into it with some interest. We concluded, therefore, to put up a shed on the wayside, in the vicinity of the house, and employ him on account of the mission half of the time, the other half of his time being devoted to the female school." Four days after, December 16th, the Scripture reader commenced his labors and had several listeners.

During the remainder of the month, missionary labor was prosecuted with zeal, and tokens of success. Considerable hope was entertained that among others a priest who attended Mr. Wade's zayat was the subject of genuine religious conviction. The following extract from Mr. Judson's journal at the close of 1827 gives a view of the means employed and hopes entertained by the members of the mission.

"*December* 31.—Though considerable missionary work has been done for several days past, I have noted nothing in the journal; but the close of the year reminds me of this as well as many other delinquencies.

"The means which are at present using for the spread of the truth may be said to be four: 1st. *Public worship on Lord's days.* This commences at half-past ten o'clock in the forenoon, and is attended by the members of the mission, the scholars, the native converts, and inquirers, and occasionally some of the neighbors and travelers, the assembly varying from twenty to seventy or more. The worship consists of

a set form of adoration and praise, followed by an extempore discourse, or rather harangue, for it is commonly very desultory, suited to the nature of the assembly; and the exercises are closed with prayer. After the assembly breaks up, several remain, and we frequently have religious conversation and discussion for several hours. 2d. *The daily evening worship.* This is intended for our own family, the scholars, the Christians that live around us, and such of the neighbors that wish to attend. The attendance, including the children, averages about twenty. We begin with reading a portion of Scripture—explain—exhort—and conclude with prayer. After worship I spend the evening with those who are willing to remain, particularly the converts, and endeavor to make the conversation instructive and profitable to them. In the mean time, the women repair to another room, and receive the instruction of Mrs. Wade; and this, together with the *female school*, conducted by Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Boardman (brother Boardman had also just commenced a school for boys), may be called the *third* means. *The fourth is brother Wade's zayat*, about half a mile south of the mission-house, on the principal road leading from Maulmain to Tavoy-zoo. He goes regularly after breakfast, and spends the day. But his adventures he will relate in his own journal. I hope in a few days to be able to add the *fifth head*, namely, *a small zayat at Koung-zay-Kyoon*, about two miles and a half north of our present residence, a very populous part of the town, where I intend to spend the day, making an occasional exchange with brother Wade.

"As to success, our most hopeful inquirer, Moung Myat-poo, with his extensive connections, has found it

inconvenient to remove from Amherst; and for him we can only hope and pray. Moung Dwah, brother of Mah Men-la, and husband of Mah-Doke, gives very satisfactory evidence of being a true disciple. He is constant in attending worship every day, besides his own family worship, and has lately requested to be admitted into the church. He will probably be the first baptized in the waters of Maulmain. The second is Moung Thah-byoo, a Karen by nation, imperfectly acquainted with the Burman language, and possessed of very ordinary abilities. He has been about us several months, and we hope that his mind, though exceedingly dark and ignorant, has begun to discern the excellence of the religion of Christ. The third is Mah Lah, concerning whom my principal acquaintance is derived from Mrs. Wade. She is most constant in improving every opportunity of attending worship, and gives considerable evidence of loving the Gospel. Both the last have requested baptism. Next in order comes the priest, whom brother Wade has doubtless mentioned in his journal. He visits the zayat every day; has been to the house once, and spent a few hours with me. He appears to be almost convinced of the truth, but can not yet think of giving up the merits of thirty-seven years of clerical austerity. Kaning-tsoo, mentioned the ninth instant,* remains about the same. There are two or three more, who attend worship occasionally, and give us some reason to hope that their attention has been so far excited as to con-

* "A venerable, white-headed old man, called a Thoo-dan-goung (saint), on account of his conscientious life and meritorious deeds; formerly rich, but now poor; once a pharisee, but lately disposed to change his character. He occasionally attends our evening worship, and seems to be opening his mind to the influence of Divine truth."

sider the Christian religion, with some conviction of truth and excellence. I ought not to forget the children in the school, two or three of whom, and particularly one, by name Mee A, have manifested much tenderness of feeling, and desire to obtain an interest in Christ."

Mr. Judson commenced operations in the new zayat January 11th, 1828. His instructions during the early part of the year attracted many persons. The two converts named in his closing report for 1827 received baptism in January, and in March four others followed their Lord into the watery grave.

Mr. Judson gave the following account of his employments in April and May, on the last day of the latter month: "The last two months I have spent at the zayat, with scarcely the exception of a single day, and I seldom have been without the company of some of the Christians or the hopeful inquirers. In the latter class we count eight or ten."

Pleasing records are made concerning some of these in the journal. Among them is found the name of Moung Boo, noticed once in the annals of the Rangoon mission, a man of the first distinction in point of talents, erudition, general information, and extensive influence. "His progress has been so slow," Mr. Judson writes, "that I have not mentioned him before; but he has attended me ever since the zayat was opened, his house being on the opposite side of the street. He was an intimate friend of Moung Shwa-gnong, and has apparently been going through a process similar to what my dear brother—now, I trust, in heaven—experienced. He has relinquished Boodhism, and got through with Deism and Unitarianism, and now appears to be near the truth. Many a time, when con-

templating his hard, unbending features, and listening to his tones of dogmatism and pride, I have said in my heart, 'Canst thou ever kneel, an humble suppliant, at the foot of the cross?' But he has lately manifested some disposition to yield, and assures me that he does pray in secret.

"To conclude this paper, I hope that the light is gradually spreading around us, more extensively, perhaps, from brother Wade's zayat than from mine, that being in a situation to catch visitors from all parts of the country, while mine is chiefly confined to the immediate vicinity. And I hope also that the Spirit of God is operating, in some cases, on the minds of our hearers. All those who have been baptized in this place, as well as those who came with us, give us great and increasing satisfaction. It is, I think, rather characteristic of Burman converts, that they are slow in making up their minds to embrace a new religion; but the point once settled is settled forever."

At this time Mr. Judson deemed it his duty to decline the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, which was conferred on him in 1823 by the corporation of Brown University. The following note contains the announcement of his purpose:

MAULMAIN, *May* 9, 1828.

I beg to be allowed the privilege of requesting my correspondents and friends, through the medium of the *American Baptist Magazine* and the *Columbian Star*, no longer to apply to my name the title which was conferred on me in the year 1823 by the corporation of Brown University, and which, with all deference and respect for that honorable body, I hereby resign.

Nearly three years elapsed before I was informed of the honor done me, and two years more have been suffered to pass, partly from the groundless idea that it was too late to decline the honor, and partly through fear of doing what might seem to reflect on those who have taken a different course, or be liable to the charge of affected singu-

larity or superstitious preciseness. But I am now convinced that the commands of Christ, and the general spirit of the Gospel, are paramount to all prudential considerations, and I only regret that I have so long delayed to make this communication. A. JUDSON.

In this course, it is well known, his friends, deeming him specially entitled to honor, have not commonly followed his directions. Nevertheless, it will scarcely be doubted by any, that when a Christian minister feels compelled by convictions of duty to renounce an intended honor, regard ought to be paid to his expressed wishes. In the course Mr. Judson adopted, it is well known he followed several eminent ministers. Doubtless most who are accustomed to be addressed by this title would, if they saw the matter in the same light, manifest an equal conscientiousness.

In the month of May, also, under the name of "A Missionary," Mr. Judson made a munificent offering to the American Baptist Board. In a letter to the board he states: "When I left America I brought with me a considerable sum of money, the avails of my own earnings, and the gifts of my relatives and personal friends. This money has been accumulating, at interest, for many years, under the management of a kind friend to the mission, and occasionally receiving accessions from other quarters, particularly at the close of the late war, until it amounts to twelve thousand rupees. I now beg leave to present it to the board, or rather to Him 'who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood.' I am taking measures to have the money paid to the agent of the board, and the payment will, I trust, be effected by the end of this year." By this liberal offering six thousand dollars were brought into the missionary treasury.

In July our missionary was cheered by new proofs

of the presence of the converting spirit. On the 28th of July five converts were baptized. The cases of all these were interesting, and are thus detailed in his journal:

"1. M'Donald, a native Hindoo, twenty-eight years of age. He renounced heathenism a few years ago, and was christened by an English clergyman on the Madras coast. His first profession of Christianity was probably sincere; but, within a few months, he became acquainted with some persons whose communications unsettled his mind, and reduced him to a state of darkness and perplexity for several years. When he came to this coast, about a year ago, he assumed the English dress, and, in correspondence with his former friends in Madras and Bengal, he made many attempts to disseminate erroneous sentiments in all classes of society, but happily without the slightest success. One morning, about a fortnight ago, he came to the zayat, and heard the doctrines of implicit faith in the Word of God, and of regeneration by the power of the Holy Spirit—doctrines which were quite new, and, at the same time, quite satisfactory to his soul. He yielded at once to the force of truth, and became, to all appearance, an humble, teachable disciple of the Divine Son. He understands Burman enough to join in our worship, and, on his requesting baptism, we had no hesitation about receiving him into our little number. He brought with him, yesterday, a large bundle, which, he informed us, contained the tracts and publications which had given him so much trouble; and when he was baptized he buried them, with his former character, in the watery grave.

"2. Moung Shway-pan, whose name has been sometimes mentioned in the journal as a hopeful inquirer.

He has been a constant attendant at the zayat ever since it was built, and is a pretty fair specimen of a cautious Burman, who turns a thing over ten thousand times before he takes it, but when once he takes it, holds it forever. He accordingly appears now very firm and decided.

"3. Mai Nyo, an aged female above eighty. She says she was a little girl when the great Alompra subverted the kingdom of Pegu, and established the present Burman dynasty, so that she has lived under eight successive monarchs. She became acquainted with Mrs. Wade three or four months ago, and though she is bitterly opposed by her relatives, on whom she is quite dependent, and though she has been, especially of late years, a devotee in religious duties, she has renounced all for Christ, and with tottering steps, bending under the infirmities of age, has done homage to the King of kings in the baptismal stream.

"4. Mah-ree (Mary Hasseltine), about twelve years old, daughter of Moung Shwa-ba, and the only girl that survives of the female school which Mrs. Judson commenced at Ava.

"5. Meh A, of the same age and standing as Mah-ree. These two girls are the first fruits of an incipient revival in the school, similar to those glorious revivals which distinguish our beloved native land. May the Holy Spirit be poured out more copiously on our own hearts, on the children of the school, and on all the inhabitants of Maulmain."

On the 3rd of August, three girls from the school, who gave evidence of being under the influence of divine grace, were baptized. At this time the young were especially opposed by the hostility of their relatives. A record in Mr. Judson's journal, August 4th,

gives an idea of the motive which sometimes led to these unfriendly manifestations: "Mee Tau-gnong's mother came early in the morning, before any of us were up, and having made her elder daughter, Mee Lau, open the door of the school zayat, she fell upon her younger daughter, abusing and beating her, until, fearing that she should alarm the house, she went off. Soon after, however, she came again, and finding her daughter outside, she beat her on the head with an umbrella, and threatened to sell her for a slave. She then went into town, and after raising a tumult in the market-place, and declaring that her daughter had entered into a religion which prevented her *lying and cheating*, so that she was quite lost to all purposes of trade, she carried the alarming tale to the mothers of the other two girls who were baptized yesterday. One of them, the mother of Mee Nen-mah, who has been most violent heretofore, came in a rage to Mrs Wade, (brother Wade and myself being absent at our zayats), and after using as bad language as she dared, she ran down to the school-room, seized her daughter by the hair, and dragged her out doors toward a pile of wood, where she would soon have armed herself with a weapon, had not Mrs. Wade interfered and rescued the victim; upon which the mother went off, muttering vengeance. The girls bore all this abuse in silent submission, and really manifested something of the spirit of martyrs. All three are taken into the house for the present, lest their infuriated relatives should make an assault upon them by night."

The mother of one of the baptized girls was at Rangoon at the time her profession was made. Soon after, the daughter "came trembling one morning to Mrs. Wade, with the alarming news that her mother had

just arrived at the landing-place, with the intention, doubtless, of taking her away by force; and what should she do? She was told to go and meet her mother, and to pray as she went. But the poor girl need not have been alarmed. She had been incessantly praying for her mother ever since she had learned to pray for herself, and God had heard her prayers, and softened her mother's heart. So when she heard that her daughter was actually baptized, she only made up a queer face, like a person choking, and said: 'It was *so*, was it not? I hear that some quite die under the operation.'" In this remark, perhaps, the poor woman showed not much less enlightenment than is sometimes found in Christian lands. Having "drank in the truth from her daughter's lips," and given evidence that she was dead unto sin, she was shortly after permitted to follow her example.

On the 14th of December, Mr. Judson baptized the thirtieth convert of the year 1828—the most successful he had yet known in the conversion of souls.

The native ministry Mr. Judson regarded as one of the most efficient agencies of evangelization, and he watched every indication of the possession of gifts and graces for this important service. Within a year from the re-establishment of the mission, he had reason to hope that his desires would soon be in some measure realized. On the first Lord's day of January, 1829, our missionary remarked: "We commence this year with an auspicious event—the ordination of Ko Thah-a as pastor of the church in Rangoon, to which place he expects to depart by an early conveyance. He has been so evidently called of God to the ministry that we have not felt at liberty to hesitate or deliberate about the matter. But if it had been left to us to se-

lect one of all the converts to be the first Christian pastor among his countrymen, Ko Thah-a is the man we should have chosen. His age (fifty-seven), his steadiness and weight of character, his attainments in Burman literature, which, though not, perhaps, necessary, seem desirable in one who is taking up arms against the religion of his country, and his humble devotedness to the sacred work, all conspire to make us acquiesce with readiness and gratitude in the Divine appointment."

With regard to this man Mr. Judson thus wrote some little time before: "At the close of the war, in the year 1826, he spent a few months at a large village in the neighborhood of Shwa-doung; and there, devoting himself to the preaching of the word, he produced a very considerable excitement. Several professed to believe in the Christian religion, and three of the most promising received baptism at his hands. Some others requested the same favor, but he became alarmed at his own temerity, and declined their repeated applications. The villagers in time returned to the vicinity of Rangoon, whence they had fled at the commencement of the war. He also returned to Rangoon, his former residence, and continued to disseminate the truth, but in a more cautious and covert manner. He has now come hither to inquire what he shall do with those who wish to be baptized, and to get some instructions concerning his own duty. He says that he can not stay long, for when he came away, the converts and inquirers begged him to return soon, and his heart is evidently with his little flock which he has left in yonder wilderness. Let us pray for Ko Thah-a, and the remnant in Rangoon. For though the tree seemed for a time cut down, 'the stump of the roots was left

in the earth, with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field.'"

A week after the ordination, Mr. Judson writes: "Pastor Thah-a took leave of us for his charge in Rangoon. We love him as a brother missionary—a humble, conscientious, faithful servant of the Lord Jesus. During his visit he has endeared himself to us all, and we should gladly detain him here, were he not evidently called to labor in another part of the vineyard. May he be made faithful unto death, and then receive the crown of life."

In February, Moung Ing, the first licentiate, was ordained as pastor of the church at Amherst. "That church," Mr. Judson writes, "consisted of three—Mah Loon-byay, who was baptized while we lived there, and has never left the place; Mah Kai, and her daughter, Mee A, who have lately moved thither. To these are now added pastor Moung Ing, and his wife, Mah Lan. May the five become five hundred. May the seed formerly sown in weakness and tears yet spring up and bear fruit. May the last efforts of the one we have lost, whose setting rays sunk in death beneath the hope tree, prove not to have been in vain; and may the prayers which ascended from her dying bed be yet heard and answered in blessings upon Amherst."

The word of the Lord continued to prove efficacious in conversions during the early part of this year. While Mr. Judson recorded additions to the native church, he also wrote of conversions among the English soldiers. Three of these, he writes February 22d, "followed their Lord and Master into the watery grave. They have been in the habit of attending certain evening meetings, in which we have lately indulged ourselves a little, though averse to every interruption to

native work. These soldiers we have not received into the Maulmain church, but have recognized them to be the Baptist church in his majesty's 45th regiment."

In May, Mr. Judson wrote a letter to the Rev. Noah Davis, describing the tract operations of the mission.

MAULMAIN, *May* 28, 1829.

MY DEAR BROTHER—We have published three tracts in the Burmese language. * * * * * * All three have been translated into Taling, the native language of all parts of British Pegu, where we are now located, and generally understood by the most of the population better than the Burmese. Oh, it is affecting to see with what eagerness the poor people, men and women, listen to the sound of the Gospel in their own native tongue; how they sometimes gather close around the reader, and listen with their eyes as well as their ears. We keep a Taling copyist at work all the time, but it is impossible to do any thing toward supplying the demand for Taling tracts. Indeed, the expense is so great that we do not think of giving copies except in the most pressing and important cases. The same is to be said of the "Golden Balance" in Burmese. Oh, we want a thousand copies of this work, to be sent instantly into all parts of the country—to Tavoy and Mergui on the south—to Rangoon, Prome, and Ava on the north—in all which places we have correspondents, or some means of communication. But we are like men with *their hands cut off*.

Thine ever in the best of bonds, and devotedness to the best of causes. A. JUDSON.

Not only was the figure employed above apposite to the case of the missionaries, but they were conscious of greatly impaired health. Mr. Judson refers to this circumstance in a letter to Mr. Lincoln, date June 5th. "We are very anxious, also, that two or three missionaries should be sent out immediately, not because we want help, not because millions are perishing around us; all missionaries cry in that tone, and it has become old. But we feel anxious, because three out of five of us are in a very poor and, to all human appearances, declining state of health; and as it must take three years to become fit for any real service, we have but

little hope remaining that our places will be supplied before most of us are laid in the grave."

It is apparent to the reader of the records already given, that our missionary rejoiced in additions to the church. Nevertheless, he was very jealous lest its membership should be corrupted by the reception of improper persons. His journal for the first Lord's day in June contains the following: "Several applications for baptism have lately been refused, the applicants being relatives of professors of religion, and influenced, we fear, by the example and persuasion of others, rather than by the impulse of grace. To-day, however, a clear case occurred—an old lady, eighty years of age, mother-in-law of a petty chief, who is one of our bitterest opposers. She commenced her inquiries several months ago, with a great deal of timidity. And though she has acquired a little courage, and is a person of considerable presence, she almost trembles under a sense of the great responsibility of changing her religion. Such being her character, the promptness with which she answered our questions, before the church, affected us even to tears. 'How old are you, mother?' 'Eighty years.' 'Can you, at such an age, renounce the religion that you have followed all your life long?' 'I see that it is false, and I renounce it all.' 'Why do you wish to be baptized into the religion of Jesus Christ?' 'I have very, very many sins; and I love the Lord, who saves from sin.' 'Perhaps your son-in-law, on hearing that you have been baptized, will abuse you, and turn you out of doors.' 'I have another son-in-law, to whom I will flee.' 'But he also is an opposer: suppose that you should meet with the same treatment there.' 'You will, I think, let me come and live near you.' We made no reply, willing that she should prove her sin-

cerity by bearing the brunt alone. Her name is Mai Hlah. Behold this venerable woman, severing, at her time of life, all the ties which bind her to a large circle of connections and friends, hazarding the loss of a comfortable, respectable situation, the loss of character, the loss of a shelter for her gray head, throwing herself on the charity of certain foreigners, and all for the sake of 'the Lord who saves from sin.' O blessed efficacy of the love of Christ!"

During the period in which so many triumphs were won by the Gospel, labors connected with translation were diligently prosecuted. The result of this employment of time is thus recorded under date of November 29th, 1829.

"Since my last, we have finished revising the New Testament and the epitome of the Old—a work in which we have been closely engaged for above a year. We have also prepared for the press several smaller works, viz.: 1. The Catechism of Religion. This has already passed through two editions in Burmese. It has also been translated and printed into Siamese, and translated into Taling or Peguan: 2. The View of the Christian Religion, thoroughly revised for a fourth edition in Burmese. It has also been translated into Taling and Siamese: 3. The Liturgy of the Burman Church: 4. The Baptismal Service: 5. The Marriage Service: 6. The Funeral Service; the three last consisting chiefly of extracts from Scripture: 7. The Teacher's Guide; or, a Digest of those Parts of the New Testament which relate to the Duty of Teachers of Religion, designed particularly for Native Pastors: 8. A Catechism of Astronomy: 9. A Catechism of Geography: 10. A Table of Chronological History, or a Register of principal Events from the Creation to

the Present Time: 11. The Memoir of Mee Shway-ee: 12. The Golden Balance; or, the Christian and Boodhist Systems contrasted. This has been translated into Taling. The Gospel of St. Matthew was also translated into Siamese by Mrs. Judson, and is now being translated into Taling by Ko Man-poke, our assistant in that department."

The visible results of effort for evangelization for the year are thus recorded in Mr. Judson's journal, December 31st: "Since my last, Moung Poo, husband of Mah Men-san, has been baptized at Pah-ouk, and last Lord's day three more soldiers were baptized in this place, making twenty-eight individuals this year; not quite so many as were baptized last year, besides which, ten of the number are Englishmen. However, Rangoon furnishes a re-enforcement of seventeen Burmans (four lately), and Tavoy another re-enforcement of eight, mostly Karens, making a total of fifty-three."

After the re-establishment of the mission there were no facilities for printing till the year 1830. Impressed with the importance of a laborer in this department, the board sent out Mr. Cephas Bennett, who arrived January 15th, 1830, and the printing operations, to the great gratification of our subject, were resumed shortly afterward.

In March, 1830, at the solicitation of Mr. and Mrs. Wade, who were at Rangoon, Mr. Judson contemplated revisiting that town. The health of Mr. Wade having subsequently caused him to go around to Maulmain for a change of air, Mr. Judson determined to accompany him on his return. He arrived at the scene of his early toils May 2d, where he immediately recommenced preaching. Cheering tokens of the Divine favor attended the presentation of the truth, but he

was not at rest. There were regions beyond to which he desired to carry the Gospel. In a letter, dated May 24th, he says: "Every day deepens the conviction in my mind that I am not in the place where God would have me be. It was to the interior, and not to Rangoon, that my mind was turned long before I left Maulmain; and while I feel that brother and sister Wade are in the right place, I feel that I am called elsewhere. Under these impressions, I am about proceeding up the river, accompanied by Moung Ing, Moung En, Moung Dway, Moung Dan, baptized April 4, and little Moung Like, not yet baptized. The boat on which we embark will take us to Prome, the great half-way place between this and Ava, and there I hope and pray that the Lord will show us what to do."

On the 29th he embarked, intending, as he proceeded up the Irrawaddy, to preach and distribute the word of life. The evangelistic labors of this excursion are presented in journals and letters addressed conjointly to co-laborers and the corresponding secretary of the board. Our missionary arrived at Prome early in June. He remained there for more than three months. He sought, immediately on his arrival, to obtain a house, but owing to the fear of the people lest, if war should occur, they should compromise themselves by having at any time entertained a foreigner, he was unsuccessful. In this emergency Mr. M., a European, invited him to stay with him a few days till he could make further arrangements. So general was the terror of the people, that Mr. Judson wrote: "The very face of a white man spreads general alarm. Mr. M. has been accused of being a spy, though nothing can be more false; and it was even proposed to put him in confinement. I find that the same suspicion is gen-

J.W.ORR Sc.N.Y.

erally felt toward me. I foresee that people will be afraid to come near me, and that my usefulness here will, on that account, be greatly impeded. Add to this that the town has been so dreadfully oppressed to pay their contingent of the government debt, that poverty, distress, and terror are the order of the day. However, the walls of Jerusalem have sometimes been built in troublous times.

"Failing in my attempt to hire a house, I went in search of a vacant spot to build on. Fell in with two of the first officers of the place, and had a little friendly conversation. Found, in the heart of the town, an old, dismantled zayat, in front of a pagoda, with a little vacant ground around it. Went to the deputy-governor, presented him with a tract, and warned him not to be intoxicated with worldly splendor, for life was short, etc. He read part of the tract, and said that my words were very proper. One of my people respectfully requested leave to repair the old zayat for the residence of the kalah pong-gyee, until he should proceed to Ava. The governor was disposed to be kind, but fearing, I suppose, for the reasons above mentioned, to do any thing on his own responsibility, said that he would bring forward my business in the court-house, the next day, before the assembled authorities of the place. Notwithstanding this promise, however, nothing was done the next day; and it being Lord's day, I staid at home, had usual worship with my people, and tried to study patience and Thomas à Kempis in the shattered house that Mr. M. occupies, with the rain beating in on every side.

"On Monday," Mr. Judson writes, "I went myself to the court-house, and found the magistrates assembled, each sitting at his post, in Burman style, and the

deputy-governor in the center. He pretended not to see or know me. I waited some time, and in an interval of business addressed some of the inferior magistrates. An inquiry arose who I was, and what I wanted. The deputy-governor began slily to assist me, and after considerable conversation it was unanimously agreed that I should be permitted to take possession of the old zayat, and repair it for my present residence. From the court-house I went to survey my new estate. I find it to be forty-five feet long and twenty feet wide. The posts and the main parts of the roof and floor, being of teak, are still extant; but it is all overgrown with wild creepers, and makes, on the whole, a pretty venerable ruin. It stands on holy ground, occupying one corner of the inclosure of a pagoda, which corner I am to surround with a fence, and thus have an inclosure about four times larger than the ruin itself. This morning I am sending out people to beg materials and engage workmen to make the place habitable as soon as possible."

Mr. Judson took possession of the old zayat June 26th. For a few days appearances were very encouraging, but July 2d he had to note unfavorable indications. "A great change has taken place in the minds of government people toward me. Satan has industriously circulated a report that I am a spy in pay of the British. Last night the deputy-governor sent to inquire my name and title. This morning I waited on him, and on the lady governess, but met with a very cold reception at both places. The deputy-governor is probably reporting me to Ava, and what the consequences will be I know not. Several visitors, who began to listen with some favorable disposition, have suddenly fallen off. To-day I have had no company at all."

The views which he knew the people entertained caused him to write, July 3d: "Feel extremely dejected this evening. Never so heartily willing to enter into my rest, yet willing to offer, and I do, with some peculiar feelings, offer my poor life to the Lord Jesus Christ, to do and to suffer whatever he shall appoint, during my few remaining days. My followers feel some courage yet, for they have, I hope, a little faith, and they know, also, that whatever storm comes, it will beat upon their teacher first." The change in the people is thus portrayed the following day: "Another day of Burman worship, and a great day, being the first day of Lent, a season which continues three months. After usual worship, took a stroll through the place. All smiles and looks of welcome are passed away; people view me with an evil eye, and suffer their dogs to bark at me unchecked." But if the people frowned upon him, God did not. He was able to close the records of the day with the statement: "I can not but hope that two persons have this day obtained some discovery of the way of salvation through a crucified Saviour. But it is really affecting to see a poor native when he first feels the pinch of truth. On one side he sees hell; on the other side, ridicule, reproach, confiscation of goods, imprisonment, and death."

The measures employed to diffuse truth and its reception are thus recorded on successive days:

"*July* 9.—Having agreed that two or three of our number shall go out every day, in different directions, and preach the Gospel, whether the people will hear or forbear, my lot fell in a public zayat, about a mile from home, near Shway San-dau, where I had an uninterrupted succession of hearers from morning till

night. Pastor Ing and Moung Dway were successfully engaged in another quarter, and Moung En had some company at home. I presume that a hundred and fifty people have this day heard the Gospel intelligibly, who never heard it before.

"*July* 10.—The same as yesterday, except that, being ill, I left the zayat about noon. Moung A was with me in the afternoon. His case is becoming extremely interesting. He is a bright young man, with a small family, formerly belonged to Cæsar's household, and bore a considerable title, which was forfeited through false accusation. He began last night to pray to the Eternal God.

"*July* 11, *Lord's Day.*—Several came in during worship, and behaved decently, though they would not put themselves into a devotional posture, or join in the responses. One man, in particular, professed to be excessively delighted with the new and wonderful things which he heard. Moung A present at evening worship, but he remains in a very critical state. No wine to be procured in this place, on which account we are unable to unite with the other churches, this day, in partaking of the Lord's Supper.

"*July* 12.—A Burman day of worship. In the morning, received private information that the deputy-governor, as I conjectured, did actually report me to Ava. If any order be given immediately, whether favorable or unfavorable, it may be expected in the course of a fortnight. Felt rather dejected, but endeavored to put my trust in God, and resolve to work while the day lasts. The zayats being all full of worshipers, I took my seat on a brick under the shed over the great idol, and, from morning till midnight, crowd succeeded crowd. Some became outrageously angry, and some

listened with delight. 'Some said, He is a good man; but others said, Nay, he deceiveth the people.' About noon, heard Moung Dway's voice on the other side of the idol. Pastor Ing was busy in another quarter. At home, Moung En received a visit from Myat-pyoo, one of the two persons mentioned on the 4th. He is sixty-nine years old, a little deaf, very timid and retiring. My expectations of him are not disappointed. He says that he thinks this is the true religion, and the only one that provides a way of escape from hell, of which he is exceedingly afraid, in consequence of his many, many sins.

"*July* 13.—Took up my position at my favorite zayat. It stands at the crossing of two great roads, the one leading from the river side to Shway San-dau, and the other from the town to the place of burying, or rather burning, the dead. Several funeral processions pass every day, and many of the followers, in going or returning, stop at my zayat to rest. To-day there was a funeral of distinction, and all the officers of government, with their respective suites, attended. In consequence of this, the crowd around me was greater than ever before. But they were not hearers of the right stamp. Most of them, being adherents of government, were rude, insolent, and wicked in the extreme. A few considerate persons remained till night, particularly one man, on whose account I also remained, though dreadfully exhausted. He has been with me two days, and I have a little hope that he begins to feel the force of truth.

"*July* 14.—Another day of hard conflict. The enemy begins to be alarmed, and his forces come on fresh and fierce, while we, few in number, have to sustain the combat without any human re-enforcement. The spirit

is willing, but the flesh is weak. At night, felt an entire prostration of strength, so much so that I was unable to go through with the evening service as usual.

"*July* 15.—Staid at home, and had some company, who listened well. Oo Myat-pyoo appears to have taken the religion of Christ into his heart. He and Moung A bid fair to be the first-fruits of the mission here.

"Moung Dway is about returning to Rangoon and Maulmain. He will take Moung Like with him, so that I shall have no other assistants besides Pastor Ing and Moung En, Moung Dan being useful in the kitchen department only. I hope, however, that Moung Dway's business will be facilitated by all parties, so that he will be able to rejoin me before long.

"*July* 16.—Moung San-lone has just arrived from Rangoon, and proposes staying with me a while. I close this to forward by Moung Dway."

After the last date recorded above, Mr. Judson did not keep a diary. A letter dated August 23d, gives a summary of his experiences: "My time has been spent in the same way as stated in the first part of that month. At one period the whole town seemed to be roused to listen to the news of an Eternal God, the mission of his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the way of salvation through his atonement. A considerable proportion of the hearers became favorably disposed. At length the enemy assumed a threatening aspect; the poor people became frightened; many sent back the tracts they had received; and there was a general falling off at the zayats. I was summoned to undergo a long examination at the court-house, not, however, on the subject of religion, but concerning all my past life since I have been in Burmah. The result was for-

warded to Ava. The magistrates still preserve a perfect neutrality, in consequence of the absence of the governor. At Ava I have been regarded as a suspicious character ever since I deserted them at the close of the war, and went over to the British. I know not what impressions the governor of this place will there receive, or how he will feel toward me when he is informed of the noise I have made in Prome during his absence."

At this period intelligence reached him of the declining health of Mr. Boardman, who had some time before removed to Tavoy, and Mr. Wade's purpose of leaving Rangoon. Mr. Judson writes: "I had some thoughts of returning immediately to Rangoon; but on further consideration and prayer, I feel that I must work while the day lasts at Prome. I have some company at the zayats every day, and crowds on days of worship. Most of the hearers are opposers; but I observe in distant corners those who listen with eagerness. There are five persons who have, I trust, obtained a little grace; but in the present dark time, they give no satisfactory evidence."

When not permitted to spend his time in labor among the people, his brethren appear to have furnished him an abundance of employment. His journal, September 8th, says: "The rise of the river has, for several days, prevented my going to the zayats, they being situated in a distant part of the town. I have employed myself in revising brother Wade's "Investigator," and send herewith a clean copy. In return, I hope to be favored with a few hundred printed copies. It is a piece of great merit, and ought to be brought to bear on the enemy without delay. An edition of three thousand will not be too large. I have already sent

down some corrections for brother Boardman's "Ship of Grace." That piece is well written, but not so well adapted for present service. It is, however, acceptable among the converts; and I should be glad to see it in print, especially if the author should be taken away, that, being dead, he may yet speak. His Scripture extracts, I have no doubt, will be as judicious as can be made; and the work ought to be put into immediate circulation."

The unfavorable influences at work caused him to despair of any great amount of good. The most promising inquirers, it was found, were soon intimidated. He refers to several in the following paragraph: "We have had one new inquirer of a most promising appearance, a secretary of the deputy-governor. He had repeatedly visited me at the zayats; at length he came to the house, and finally began to attend our evening worship. But alas! as has been the case with all our good inquirers, he met, I suppose, with some violent threatening, and a few days ago suddenly and entirely disappeared. Old Oo Myat-pyoo, mentioned July 15th, sends me word, that he reads our writings every day, and thinks of us constantly, but begs we will never mention to any person that he formerly visited us. As for Moung A, he has privately left the place altogether, for what reason we can not ascertain. You can have no idea of the fear of government which pervades all classes. I never saw so much of it before."

Ten days after he took his departure he thus expresses the sentiments which filled his mind: "Afloat on my own little boat, manned by none other than my three disciples, I take leave of Prome and her towering god Shway San-dau, at whose base I have been

laboring, with not the kindest intentions, for the last three months and a half. Too firmly founded art thou, old pile, to be overthrown just at present; but the children of those who now plaster thee with gold, will yet pull thee down, nor leave one brick upon another.

"The government writer, Moung Kywet-nee, who recommenced visiting us a few days ago, has been hanging about us for two hours, lamenting our departure; and he is now sitting alone at the water's edge, looking after our boat as it floats down the stream. 'Mark me as your disciple; I pray to God every day; do you also pray for me; as soon as I can get free from my present engagements, I intend to come down to Rangoon,' are some of his last expressions.

"The sun is just setting. We could not get our boat ready earlier in the day, and, as it is Saturday evening, we intend to proceed as far as Men-dai, in order to spend the Lord's day there. There is no period of my missionary life that I review with more satisfaction, or rather with less dissatisfaction, than my sojourn in Prome. This city was founded several hundred years before the Christian era. Through how many ages have the successive generations of its dark inhabitants lived and died, without the slightest knowledge of the great Eternal, and the only way of salvation which he has provided! At length, in the year 1830, it was ordered that a missionary of the Cross should sit down in the heart of the city, and from day to day, for above three months, should pour forth Divine truth in language which, if not eloquent and acceptable, was at least intelligible to all ranks. What a wonderful phenomenon must this have been to celestial beings, who gaze upon the works and dispensations of God in this lower world! It was necessary to the accomplishment

of the Divine purpose that, after so many centuries of darkness, there should be such an exhibition of light as has been made, and no more. Thousands have heard of God who never, nor their ancestors, heard before. Frequently, in passing through the streets, and in taking my seat in the zayats, I have felt such a solemnity and awe on my spirit as almost prevented me from opening my lips to communicate the momentous message with which I was charged. How the preacher has preached, and how the hearers have heard, the day of judgment will show. O, how many will find their everlasting chains more tight and intolerable on account of the very warnings and entreaties they have received from my lips! But what more can be done than has been done? Though warned and entreated, they have willfully, obstinately, and blasphemously refused to listen. But, blessed be God, there are some whose faces I expect to see at the right hand of the great Judge. The young man just mentioned, the carpenter Moung Shway-hlah, a poor man, by name Moung Oo, in addition to some others mentioned in former letters, give us reason to hope that they have received the truth in good and honest hearts. Many also there are who have become so far enlightened, that I am sure they never can bow the knee to Shway San-dau without a distressing conviction that they are in the wrong way. Farewell to thee, Prome! Willingly would I have spent my last breath in thee and for thee. But thy sons ask me not to stay, and I must preach the Gospel to other cities also; for therefore am I sent. Read the five hundred tracts that I have left with thee. Pray to the God and Saviour that I have told thee of. And if hereafter thou call me, though in the lowest whisper, and it reach me in the

very extremities of the empire, I will joyfully listen, and come back to thee."

Some fruit of these labors at Prome was found in after years by other missionaries. In 1833, on his way to Ava, Mr. Kincaid called at several towns on the Irrawaddy. At Tharet he records the following incident: "While I was giving away some tracts to a crowd of people that lined the shore, a young man of interesting appearance came near, and said: 'Will you please give me St. John's History of Christ, and the Acts of the Apostles?' 'Did you ever read these books?' 'Yes. Teacher Judson gave them to me in Prome; but when the city was burned, I lost the books.' I gave him the books and four tracts, and he immediately disappeared in the crowd. Soon after this, we moved our boat one or two miles farther up the town, where we would be more secure from the wind. I could not help thinking of this young man, but did not expect to see him again. However, at dark he made his appearance, and said: 'There is a man in this city, besides me, who believes in Jesus Christ, and he wants to see the teacher and get books; but he thinks the boat is away, and has sent me to search.' We followed the young man, and how were we surprised and almost overjoyed to find a venerable old man full of faith and hope in Christ, though he had no other teacher than 'St. John's History of Christ,' and the 'View,' accompanied by the influence of the Holy Spirit. He said he had loved Chrst for about two years, and his language was that of a man who was acquainted with his own heart. He spoke distinctly of the carnal and spiritual mind, of regeneration and baptism. The young man before mentioned had heard brother Judson preach in Prome, and had

got books; afterward he brought them to this town, and read them to this old man, and both, I trust, are born of God." With such records of the results effected by tracts, we can imagine the verses of Montgomery concerning these little messengers very appropriate in regard to those Mr. Judson distributed at Prome:

"Oh, could the first archangel's sight
The least of these pursue,
He might record, in its brief flight
Each had a work to do—
A work of grace, a work of power;
But what that was below,
Time's last, eternity's first hour
To heaven and earth will show."

After spending a few days in efforts to do good on his way down the river, the supply of tracts being exhausted, Mr. Judson determined to hasten to Rangoon. He records, September 25th: "Came in sight of my old acquaintance, Shway Dagon." He landed in Rangoon the same day. A short time after his return he had reason to believe that he had not taken his departure from Prome too soon. He writes:

"*October* 8.—Have just received intelligence that about the 1st of September the king issued an order that I should be removed from Prome, 'being exceedingly annoyed that I was there, in the interior of the country, distributing papers, and abusing the Burmese religion.' The woon-gyees, being unwilling to proceed to extremities, made application to Major Burney, the British resident at Ava, who assured them that he had no control over me; that I was in no way connected with the British government, but employed exclusively in the duties of my profession; and he begged them not to proceed to adopt a measure which would be

condemned as intolerant by good men of all countries. They said, however, that his majesty's order was peremptory, and that it was necessary for me to confine my labors within the limits of Rangoon. Major Burney then consented to write me on the subject."

On returning to Rangoon, our missionary gave himself to labors of evangelization with great zeal. Among the means on which he placed reliance, the circulation of tracts held great prominence. An interesting instance of the beneficial results of this instrumentality is recorded in his journal: "The case of Ko San deserves particular notice. He is a respectable elderly man, residing in a village north of Ava. Twelve years ago a copy of the first edition of the first tract found its way thither, and he treasured it up as the truth. At subsequent times he occasionally met with disciples, particularly during the war, when some of them fled beyond Ava with the rest of the population. The more he heard of the Christian religion, the better he liked it. He has now concluded to remove to Rangoon. His wife is of the same mind with himself, and when they arrive, will both, he says, request baptism."

A stronger testimony to the value of the printing-press as an auxiliary in the work of evangelization, has, perhaps, never been uttered than is presented in the following extracts from a letter which Mr. Judson wrote in November, 1830, to Mr. Bennett, the mission printer: "I am more and more convinced that Burmah is to be evangelized by tracts and portions of Scripture; they are a reading people beyond any in India. The *press is the grand engine for Burmah. Every pull of the press throws another ray of light through the empire.*" At the time this was written he was sending for different publications by thousands.

In the diffusion of the truth, Mr. Judson sought to employ his native assistants, in order to carry forward the translations with as little interruption as possible. The plans pursued are presented in the following extract from a letter to Dr. Bolles, November 21, 1830: "Since my return to this place I have chiefly confined myself to the garret of the house we occupy, in order to get a little time to go on with the translation of the Psalms, which was begun three years ago, but has been hitherto postponed for more important missionary work, which was ever pressing upon us. Some of the disciples occupy the front part of the house below, and receive company and distribute tracts and portions of Scripture. The more hopeful visitors are shown the way up stairs. But notwithstanding this arrangement I am interrupted above half my time. People find their way to me from all parts of the country, and some, I trust, return with that light in their heads, and that love in their hearts, and that truth in their hands, which will operate as a little leaven, until the whole mass is leavened."

In the midst of the pleasurable prosecution of his work, Mr. Judson received an invitation from the board in America to revisit his native land. The following is a copy of his reply:

TO THE REV. DR. BOLLES.

RANGOON, *December* 20, 1830.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—I am happy to inform the board that my health, which was rather impaired some time ago, is now quite good; so that I should not feel justified in accepting their invitation to return home.

At the same time, the kind feeling which dictated the invitation, and the affection, though undeserved, which breathes in every line, have made an indelible impression on my heart. I must confess that, in meditating on the subject, I have felt an almost unconquerable desire to become personally acquainted with my beloved patrons and corre-

spondents, the members of the board, as well as to rove once more over the hills and valleys of my own native land, to recognize the still surviving companions of my youth, and to witness the wide-spread and daily-increasing glories of Emanuel's kingdom in that land of liberty, blessed of Heaven with temporal and spiritual blessings above all others.

However, I anticipate a happier meeting, brighter plains, friends the same, but more lovely and beloved; and I expect soon to witness, yea, enjoy, that glory in comparison of which all on earth is but a shadow. With that anticipation I content myself, assured that we shall not then regret any instance of self-denial or suffering endured for the Lord of life and glory. Your affectionate friend and faithful servant,

A. JUDSON.

In the beginning of 1831 we find Mr. Judson still at Rangoon, devoting as much time as possible to the translation of the Old Testament. This course he pursued in accordance with the desire of the board, but he sometimes found it difficult to reconcile himself to it. He writes, February 5th: "The most prominent feature in the mission at present is the surprising spirit of inquiry that is spreading everywhere, through the whole length and breadth of the land. I sometimes feel alarmed, like a person who sees a mighty engine beginning to move, over which he knows he has no control. Our house is frequently crowded with company; but I am obliged to leave them to Moung En, one of the best of assistants, in order to get time for the translation. Is this right? Happy is the missionary who goes to a country where the Bible is translated to his hand."

In February a heavy calamity occurred to the mission in the death of Mr. Boardman, whose health had for some time occasioned serious fears. Mr. Judson pays the following beautiful tribute to his memory, in a letter dated February 28th: "One of the brightest luminaries of Burmah is extinguished: dear brother Boardman has gone to his eternal rest. I have heard

no particulars, except that he died on returning from his last expedition to the Karen villages, within one day's march of Tavoy. He fell gloriously at the head of his troops, in the arms of victory, thirty-eight wild Karens having been brought into the camp of King Jesus since the beginning of the year, besides the thirty-two that were brought in during the two preceding years. Disabled by mortal wounds, he was obliged, through the whole of his last expedition, to be carried on a litter; but his presence was a host, and the Holy Spirit accompanied his dying whispers with almighty influence. Such a death, next to that of martyrdom, must be glorious in the eyes of Heaven. Well may we rest assured that a triumphal crown awaits him on the great day, and 'Well done, good and faithful Boardman, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'"

While death, on the one hand, occasioned sorrow, on the other there was cause for joy in the addition of Messrs. Kincaid, Mason, and Jones to the mission forces. While dwelling on the fewness of the missionaries, he thus alludes to them: "I am, however, most grateful and happy that three new missionaries, with their wives, have lately arrived, and are now applying themselves to the language, and preparing to come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. May he preserve their lives many years, and make them more successful and blessed than their predecessors."

The reader will have noticed, by previous extracts, how much Mr. Judson's mind was at this time devoted to the distribution of printed matter. The following record, dated March 4th, 1831, gives a further view of his tract operations, and the emotions which the multitudes destitute of the word of life awakened: "The

great annual festival of Shway Dagon is just past, during which I have distributed nearly ten thousand tracts, *giving to none but those who ask.* Priests and people, from the remotest regions, are alike eager to get our writings. I should have given away double the number if I could have obtained sufficient supplies. But poor brother Bennett can not, single-handed, with bad type, and not yet familiar with Burmese printing, answer all the demands which we make upon him from different quarters. May God forgive all those who desert us in our extremity; may he save them all. But surely, if any sin will lie with crushing weight on the trembling, shrinking soul, when grim death draws near, if any sin will clothe the face of the final Judge with an angry frown, withering up the last hope of the condemned in irremediable, everlasting despair, it is the sin of turning a deaf ear to the plaintive cry of ten millions of immortal beings, who by their darkness and misery cry day and night, '*Come to our rescue, ye bright sons and daughters of America*—COME AND SAVE US, FOR WE ARE SINKING INTO HELL.'"

The festival to which he refers above, and his sense of the supineness of Christians in the work of evangelization, are still further exhibited in the following letter:

TO REV. MR. GROW, OF THOMPSON, CONN.

RANGOON, *March* 4, 1831.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER—Your letter of the 19th July last is before me, and your fifty dollars are in the hands of Mr. Jones, at Maulmain, who writes me that he is ready to pay it to my order. The sentiments expressed in your letter are cheering and encouraging to my heart. I wish that all Baptist ministers felt so, and would all make such presents, though I should prefer their being made directly to the board. My gratitude, however, in both cases is sincere.

The great annual festival is just past, during which multitudes come from the remotest parts of the country to worship at the great Shway

Dagon pagoda, in this place, where it is believed that several real hairs of Gaudama are enshrined. During the festival, I have given away nearly ten thousand tracts, giving to none but those who ask. I presume there have been six thousand applications at the house. Some come two or three months' journey, from the borders of Siam and China—"Sir, we hear that there is an eternal hell. We are afraid of it. Do give us a writing that will tell us how to escape it." Others come from the frontiers of Kathay, a hundred miles north of Ava—"Sir, we have seen a writing that tells about an eternal God. Are you the man that gives away such writings? If so, pray give us one, for we want to know the truth before we die." Others come from the interior of the country, where the name of Jesus Christ is a little known—"ARE YOU JESUS CHRIST'S MAN? Give us a writing that tells about Jesus Christ." Brother Bennett works day and night at the press; but he is unable to supply us; for the call is great at Maulmain and Tavoy, as well as here, and his types are very poor, and he has no efficient help. The fact is that we are very weak, and have to complain that hitherto we have not been well supported from home. It is almost distressing to find, when we are almost worn out, and are sinking, one after another, into the grave, that many of our brethren in Christ at home are just as hard and immovable as rocks—just as cold and repulsive as the mountains of ice in the polar seas. But whatever they do, we can not sit still and see the dear Burmans, flesh and blood like ourselves, and like ourselves possessed of immortal souls, that will shine forever in heaven, or burn forever in hell—we can not see them go down to perdition without doing our very utmost to save them. And thanks be to God, our labors are not in vain. We have three lovely churches, and about two hundred baptized converts, and some are in glory. A spirit of religious inquiry is extensively spreading throughout the country, and the signs of the times indicate that the great renovation of Burmah is drawing near. Oh, if we had about twenty more versed in the language, and means to spread schools, and tracts, and Bibles to any extent, how happy I should be! But those rocks and those icy mountains have crushed us down for many years. However, I must not leave my work to write letters. It is seldom that I write a letter home, except my journal, and that I am obliged to do. I took up my pen merely to acknowledge your kindness, and behold I have scratched out a long letter, which I hope you will excuse, and believe me,

In haste, your affectionate brother in Christ,

A. JUDSON.

In May, Mr. Judson was able to report gratifying

progress in the work of translation. On the 22d of that month he wrote: "I am just finishing the books of Isaiah and Genesis, having kept them along together, the one by way of refreshment after the toil of the other. I have done but little missionary work, except distributing tracts and superintending the native assistants."

With respect to his personal distribution of tracts, and his hope of their usefulness, the following extract contains interesting information: "It has been my habit for several months past to perambulate the streets every morning about sunrise, distributing tracts to those who ask. At first I gave away fifteen or twenty a day. The average has now risen to seventy. We think, from inquiry and observation, that very few are destroyed. They are in almost every house, and are read in private. The truth is unquestionably spreading. Were it not for the fear of government, I think the spread in this place would be rapid. There are a good many hopeful inquirers, but when they arrive at a certain point their visits become few and far between. They see the Rubicon before them, and dare not pass. The number of such persons is continually increasing. This can not last always. God will, I trust, make a bridge to facilitate their passage."

The health of Mr. and Mrs. Wade had been for some time greatly impaired, and in June the health of the latter had so much failed, that earnest entreaties were made by all the members of the mission at Maulmain, that Mr. Wade would accompany her on a voyage, both for her benefit and his own. In prospect of losing the services of so valuable a colleague, Mr. Judson felt himself in considerable doubt as to his own duty. In a letter to Dr. Bolles, which states that he had ad-

dressed the other missionaries, expressing his concurrence in their wishes, he adds: "I have also written to the brethren to know what I shall do with myself in the mean time. I know not whether they can keep the press moving without me. And though they can, what will become of the native flock in Maulmain? What of the Karens? What of all the people in the ceded provinces, from Tenasserim to the frontiers of China? What of all the people from Rangoon to Ava? I am startled and terrified to find that, by several unexpected moves, I am left, as it were, alone, there being not another foreigner in all the country that can preach the Gospel to the perishing millions, north and south, or feed the infant churches, except, indeed, Mrs. Bennett, who has begun to take the management of the female meetings. My prayers to God and my entreaties to my brethren at home seem to have equal efficacy. Since the last missionaries left home, I perceive no further signs of life. However, it is a comfort that those last arrived are on the ground; and I can not but sanguinely hope that dear brother and sister Wade will, in due time, return with renovated health and a fresh re-enforcement."

In June the missionaries at Maulmain replied to his inquiries, by requesting him to remove to that place. This he did not feel at liberty to do till an American missionary should be ready to occupy his place at Rangoon. Mr. Jones accordingly agreed to relieve him, and arrived at Rangoon, July 3d. Three days afterward Mr. Judson left. He reached Maulmain, after a tedious passage, August 11th, having been absent more than a year. His reception at the mission premises attested the joy of all in his return. "I had no sooner set foot than I found myself surrounded by

a crowd of native Christians, children of the school and members of the mission; and our joy was reciprocal. Find there are continual accessions to the European church under the care of brother Kincaid, some encouraging news from the Karens in the north, but prospects among the native population of Maulmain rather dark."

Immediately after Mr. Judson's return, two were added to the Maulmain church. The appearance of the church was at this time in many respects encouraging; but in one particular some of its members did not meet his own views of Christian duty. In a letter which he addressed to the female members of Christian churches in the United States, he says: "On my meeting the church after a year's absence, I beheld an appalling profusion of ornaments, and saw that the demon of vanity was laying waste the female department." This proved a cause of great disquiet to him; and it was in consequence of his knowledge that the customs of Christians coming from his native land were likely to have an influence in perpetuating the evil, he wrote his admirable letter mentioned above.

In September, Mr. Judson left Maulmain with a view of laboring for a time with the Karens, to whose villages Mr. Wade and other missionaries had made several excursions to preach the Gospel. It had been Mr. Judson's intention to devote considerable time to the people, but owing to sickness he was compelled in two weeks to return to Maulmain. Writing from that place, September 27th, he says: "Am just recovering fro· the fever, and able to record my gratitude to Goa · his sparing mercy, and to brother and sister Bennett, and my attending physician, Dr. Richardson,

for their kind attention and care, by means of which another span is added to my forfeited life. Renewedly would I devote it, whether longer or shorter, to the service of my God and Saviour,

> 'If so poor a worm as I
> May to thy great glory live.'"

Although Mr. Judson's visit was thus cut short, yet it allowed him an opportunity in some part to execute an important project. Previous to his leaving Maulmain for these villages, he had established an adult school, and September 28th he was able to record that "three of the Karens whom I had selected from all the baptized, namely, Tau-nah, Pan-lah, and Chet-thing, have arrived, with their wives and children, and one girl from another family—fifteen souls in all. It is our intention to place the men in the adult school, and qualify them to read and interpret the Scriptures to their countrymen. In the mean time their families will be acquiring a little civilization and Christian knowledge, which will render them useful when they return to their native wilds. The plan will involve some expense, as they must, of course, be supported while at school. Each family will require six or seven rupees per month. But I know of no way in which a little money can be laid out to greater advantage, for the promotion of the cause of truth among this people."

In November, Mr. Judson was able to report that the school "does well. It contains about twenty persons—men, women, and children. Most of them are professors of religion, and six are Karens; the rest, inhabitants of Maulmain. Some of them are boarded in whole, some in part, and some board themselves."

This school was continued in operation till the close

of the following month, at which time it was suspended, "most of the scholars having learned to read and committed to memory several important portions of the tracts and Scripture."

With the close of the year 1831 Mr. Judson made a return to the board of the progress of the mission. By this it appears from its re-establishment to this time three hundred and fifty-five persons were baptized. All but three of this number were added in the years embraced in the records of this chapter. Of those baptized, one hundred and thirteen were from the British forces.

In these years of prosperity the mission sustained loss by death of Mr. Boardman. Others were greatly worn down by sickness, while the recruits from the United States were but few.

Previous to the war, it should be remarked, only eighteen persons had been baptized, and on the re-establishment of the mission it was found death had removed several of these. In the later years, the events of which are recorded in this chapter, soon as a person was known to be "considering the new religion," his relatives and acquaintance rose "*en masse* to oppose him," "so that," Mr. Judson wrote, "to get a new convert is like pulling the eye-tooth of a live tiger."

In view of these things, the rapid increase of the membership of the churches under the care of our subject and associates gives evidence that "the hand of the Lord was with them."

Chapter Thirteenth.

LIFE IN THE JUNGLE.

"In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, . . in perils in the wilderness."—2 Cor. xi. 26.

THE Karens occupied Mr. Judson's chief attention during the early part of the year 1832. This people generally reside in the jungle, where they form settlements; but these seldom embrace half a score habitations, and are of temporary location. When our missionary went to Burmah he found them greatly despised by the dominant race from the fact, not only of their roving life, but because they had in general no form of religion, and were destitute of a written language. It was on these accounts they received the name they bear—a name only too significant of their character and condition wherever they have not been brought under the meliorating influence of Christianity.

The Karens of Burmah are thought by some to be allied to the roving tribes who lodge in the forests of Siam; but they are not of a uniform stock—the term Karen being generally applied to the people, although they differ as much from one another as from the Burmese. The Karens of Burmah are of two tribes, Phwos and Sgaus. The first converts to Christianity were nearly all of the latter tribe.

Previous to the war of 1825 the Karens were sub-

jected to great extortions by the Burman government. In this respect the annexation of the Tenasserim provinces to the British possessions proved a great good to those of them who were residents in that territory. As a people they are described as of milder manners and more industrious habits than the Burmese. In most respects they are considered superior to the Burmans in moral qualities; cleanliness, however, is a virtue to which they can lay little claim, and habits of intemperance are very common. Indulgence in this vice is easy, from the fact that they can readily manufacture their own liquor. Dr. Mason denominates them a "nation of singers." With respect to religion, when they first came under the notice of missionaries they were considered atheists in every sense of the word. Further acquaintance has shown that they possess some belief in the existence of a Divine Being, eternal in his nature. Their views of a future state are also superior to those of the Burmans. Their traditions, which they have received from former generations, are very interesting, as exhibiting a remarkable coincidence with the expectations of the Jewish nation. Gross superstitions, however, prevail among them. Boodhism has been received by some few of them who have been associated with the Burmese. These have generally formed villages of their own.

This people early engaged Mr. Judson's attention, but it was not till 1828 that his sympathies concerning them were in measure gratified. In that year, as seen already, Ko-thau Byu was converted at Maulmain. Having accompanied Mr. Boardman when he commenced the mission at Tavoy, he was baptized there in May of that year. Through this man's instrumentality other Karens were brought under missionary in-

fluence. On this account Tavoy became associated in many minds as the great center for missionary operations with the Karens. This impression Mr. Judson subsequently sought to remove. "All of us here," he wrote, in 1833, "well know that there is no other of our stations so remote from the Karen nation, none where a missionary must inevitably labor among that people to so great disadvantage. In the Tavoy district it is impossible for him to acquire the language properly; and he is completely insulated from the great body of the Karen nation; and lastly, he is cut of from almost all intercourse with the handful of Karens in the district during six months of the year, in consequence of the intervening country being flooded, and there being no river communication."

The first Karen baptisms in the jungle, near Maulmain, occurred in connection with Mr. Wade's labors. As the fruits of the labors of a native teacher, several inquirers were subsequently gathered, some of whom Mr. Judson baptized on his first visit. Though his proposed tour was soon abandoned, on account of his indisposition, yet he was long enough in the field to be eager to return. Mr. Bennett having been compelled to go to Bengal to improve the types, Mr. Judson was released from the claims of the printing-office, and had thus an opportunity to enter the jungle again. This was to him a source of rejoicing. Most would think that to a man of Mr. Judson's intellectual cultivation, these excursions into the wilderness to so ignorant a people, and attended by so much that was infelicitous to those who know the luxuries of civilization, would have been a heavy cross. No records, however, which he has made of his missionary life, betoken the possession of more delightful emotion than

those which relate to the time when he was wending his way over hill and dale through the jungle, fording its streams, or embarked on the rivers, calling the wandering tribes of Tenasserim to behold their God.

Closing the adult school, and taking with him the three Karen families who had been training these, and also other native assistants, whom he called "good men and true," he left Maulmain in the last week of 1831. He arrived at Wadesville January 1st, 1832. From this place he proceeded to various villages, till he reached the banks of the Salwen, where, according to previous arrangement, a boat from Maulmain met him. Having followed the course of the river as far as trading boats could go, he attempted to visit the people beyond by foot, but after one day's experience of this mode of travel, he was obliged to return to the boat. Subsequently he visited several other villages, chiefly on the Salwen. He arrived in Maulmain February 11th, having been absent six weeks. In a little more than two weeks he was again passing up the Salwen for a visit to the Karen villages. He was absent from Maulmain on this excursion about a month.

In the evangelistic labors of these tours Mr. Judson was compelled to rely greatly on an interpreter, and to devolve as much labor as was prudent on the native assistants. These latter he dispatched in various directions on short excursions, being rejoined by them at points previously agreed on, after which they were sent out anew, or he visited with them those places where they had found the people most open to the truth.

In these excursions our subject met with hardships and incidents which would furnish many travelers con-

siderable material for the astonishment of their less adventurous kindred. At one time we find his party passing up one of the rivers, their way, he says, "frequently impeded by the trees which had fallen across the water, and through which we were obliged to cut a passage for the boat." At the time he reached the point where the rapids compel trading boats to stop on the Salwen, as already seen, he attempted to pursue his way by foot, but it was "over dreadful mountains, and in the bed of a rivulet, where the water was sometimes knee deep, and full of sharp, slippery rocks, and," he says, "my bare feet, unaccustomed to such usage, soon became so sore that I could hardly step." It was only when he found that such was the road for many miles that he relinquished the attempt to reach the people to whom he desired to carry the word of life. At another time we find a record in his journal: "Obliged to coil ourselves up in our small boat, there being no house in these parts, and the country swarming with tigers at this season, so that none of us ventured to sleep on shore." Some of the perils of such missionary excursions Mr. Judson made known to his personal friends when he visited the United States. The following narrative he communicated to Mr. W. S. Robarts, of Philadelphia:

"On one occasion, in making a tour of several hundred miles, I selected, to accompany me, four Burmans, two of whom were Christians, and two were heathen. As this journey was attended with danger, the heathen, agreeable to custom, previous to starting, made their offerings to their gods, and endeavored to prevail on their Christian companions to do the same, which was, of course, declined. During their progress they had to cross an inlet of a river. I rolled my rai-

ment above my knees, and, with the heathen attendants, went high up the stream, and there waded across. The two Christians, meanwhile, preferring a shorter route, waded through lower down, when suddenly my ears were saluted with piercing cries of distress. On hastening to the spot, I found that an enormous alligator had seized one of my Christian children, and borne him away beneath the water. My next and best view was of the monster rising, at a considerable distance down the river, with his huge leg around the neck of the hapless man, displaying his turbaned head above the surface of the water, as if in exultation over his victim. This event caused me indescribable grief; first, on account of the loss of a very beloved convert, and secondly, inasmuch as it was ground of triumph for the poor heathen, who attributed their preservation to their propitiatory offerings."

Engaged in his Master's work, and knowing that the Gospel was preached, our subject thought little of the discomfort to which he was exposed. He might with truth have used the language of Paul: "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." Not every minister of Christ could have written the following: "Arrived at Pooh-ah's small village, consisting of three houses, not one of which had a leaf of covering. No one welcomed our arrival, so we sat down on the ground. Presently the preaching of one of the Karen disciples so wrought upon one of the householders—a Burman, with a Karen wife—that he invited me to sit on his floor; and my people spread a mat overhead, which, with my umbrella, made me *quite at home*."

The scattered character of the Karen population was

a serious hindrance to an extensive knowledge of the word of life. The founding of larger villages was deemed very important. A few days after Mr. Judson's arrival at Wadesville he mentions: "The disciples at this place being desirous of changing their residence, and uniting with other disciples from different parts in forming a new settlement, we went down the river a short distance, and on the western bank, just below the mouth of the Pan-ka-rong rivulet, found a spot which, uniting the suffrages of all parties, we commended to God, praying him to come and make it his abode, and bless the inhabitants with all temporal and spiritual blessings, and cause it to be a spring whence living waters should flow into all the adjacent parts." In another district, a month afterward, an offer having been made of ground for a zayat, he marked out a place for the edifice, and thus made the beginning of a village, which was called Chummerah, from its situation on the rivulet of that name.

There was one thing on these visits which disturbed his peace, even as it had before he went thither. This was the love of personal ornaments. "Little did I expect," he says, in his letter on this subject, to the female members of Christian churches, "there to encounter the same enemy, in those 'wilds, horrid and dark with o'ershadowing trees.' But I found that he had been there before me, and reigned with a peculiar sway, from time immemorial. On one Karen lady I counted between twelve and fifteen necklaces of all colors, sizes, and materials. Three was the average. Brass bells above the ankles, neat braids of black hair tied below the knees, rings of all sorts on the fingers, bracelets on the wrists and arms, long instruments of some metal, perforating the lower part of the ear, by

an immense aperture, and reaching nearly to the shoulders; fancifully constructed bags, inclosing the hair, and suspended from the back part of the head, not to speak of the ornamental parts of their clothing, constituted the fashions and the ton of the fair Karenesses. The dress of the female converts was not essentially different from that of their countrywomen. I saw that I was brought into a situation that precluded all retreat—that I must fight or die.

"For a few nights I spent some sleepless hours, distressed by this and other subjects, which will always press upon the heart of a missionary in a new place. I considered the spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ, opened to 1 Timothy ii. 9, and read these words of the inspired apostle: 'I will also that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; *not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array.*' I asked myself, Can I baptize a Karen woman in her present attire? No. Can I administer the Lord's Supper to one of the baptized, in that attire? No. Can I refrain from enforcing the prohibition of the apostle? Not without betraying the trust I have received from him. Again, I considered that the question concerned not the Karens only, but the whole Christian world; that its decision would involve a train of unknown consequences; that a single step would lead me into a long and perilous way. I considered Maulmain and the other stations; I considered the state of the public mind at home. But '*what is that to thee? follow thou me*' was the continual response, and weighed more than all. I renewedly offered myself to Christ, and prayed for strength to go forward in the path of duty, come life or death, come praise or reproach, supported or deserted, successful

or defeated in the ultimate issue. Soon after coming to this resolution, a Karen woman offered herself for baptism. After the usual examination, I inquired whether she could give up her ornaments for Christ. It was an unexpected blow. I explained the spirit of the Gospel. I appealed to her own consciousness of vanity. I read her the apostle's prohibition. She looked again and again at her handsome necklace (she wore but one), and then with an air of modest decision that would adorn, beyond all outward ornaments, any of my sisters whom I have the honor of addressing, she quietly took it off, saying, '*I love Christ more than this.*'"

In the jungle, as elsewhere, Mr. Judson found instances of the power of a published Gospel, even when not delivered by the living voice. In recording the death of Pan-mlai-mlo, "the first of these northern Karens, who, we hope, has arrived safe in heaven," he adds: "I ought, perhaps, to except the case of a man and his wife, near the head of the Patah river, who, though not baptized, and *never seen by any foreign missionary*, both died in the faith; the man enjoining it on his surviving friends to have the "View of the Christian Religion" laid on his breast and buried with him."

This incident furnishes the theme for some admirable lines, a portion of which we subjoin:

"He never saw
The book of heavenly wisdom, and no saint
Had told him how the sinner might be saved.
But to his hut
A little tract—a messenger of love,
A herald of glad tidings—found its way.
* * * * * * * *
The hue
Of death was on his cheek. His burning brow

Told of the pain he felt. Still no saint was near
To tell of joys to come. No man of God
Stood by his bed to soothe the final hour;
But he had peace.
'When I am dead,' he saith, 'put ye the little book
Upon my breast, and let it go with me
Down to my sepulcher. It taught me all
That I have learned of God, and heaven, and hell.
I love the man who wrote it, and that God
Who brought it to my home.'"

In some instances our subject found great encouragement in his work. Thus he writes, January 16th: "Came to Zat-kyee's small village, where one man and his wife embraced the truth at first hearing; and the man said, that as there was no suitable place for baptizing at that village, he would follow on until he could say, 'See, here is water,' etc. I gave him leave to follow, not with that view, but to listen further to the blessed Gospel."

Two days after, he says: "Shway-hlah, the man who followed us from the village day before yesterday, appearing to be sincere in his desire to profess the Christian religion, we held a meeting, though four disciples only could be present, and on balloting for his reception there was one dissentient vote, so that I advised him to wait longer. He appeared to be much disappointed and grieved; said that he should perhaps not live to see me again, and have an opportunity of being initiated into the religion of Jesus Christ; and after a while the two Karen disciples insisting that he should be re-examined, we gave him a second trial, when, on cross-questioning him in the Burman language, which he understood pretty well (for we began to suspect the Karen interpreters of being a little partial to their countryman), some circumstances leaked

out which turned the scale in his favor, and he gained a clear vote. After his baptism he went on his way rejoicing, resolving to tell all his neighbors what great things the Lord had done for him."

Again we find him writing of a village of three houses: "This little village may be said to have embraced the Gospel. At one time we had eight applicants for baptism, but two only were finally received—Ko Shway and his wife, Nah Nyah-ban. They both understand the Burmese language pretty well, and the woman possesses the best intellect, as well as the strongest faith, that I have found among this people. I invited them, though rather advanced in life, to come to Maulmain and learn to read, promising to support them a few months, and they concluded to accept the invitation next rainy season. They followed us all the way to the boat, and the woman stood looking after us until we were out of sight." Far different was his reception at the next settlement: "The villagers listened a while, and then sent a respectful message, saying that they believed the religion of Jesus Christ, that it was most excellent, etc., but begged that the teacher would go about his business, and not come to disturb them."

The following gives us a view of other cases of opposition to the truth. It relates to Poo-doors village: "My people preceded me, as usual, and about noon I followed them. But I found that the village was inhabited chiefly by Boodhist Karens, and, of course, met with a poor reception. After showing myself, and trying to conciliate the children and dogs, who cried and barked in concert, I left word that, if any wished to hear me preach, I would come again in the evening, and then relieved the people of my presence, and re-

treated to the boat. At night the disciples returned, without any encouragement. One of them, however, accidentally met the chief, who said that if I came he would not refuse to hear what I had to say. On this half invitation I set out, about sunset, and never met with worse treatment at a Karen village. The chief would not even invite us into his house, but sent us off to an old deserted place, where the floor was too frail to support us; so we sat down on the ground. He then invited us nearer, and sat down before us, with a few confidential friends. He had evidently forbidden all his people to approach us, otherwise some would have come, out of curiosity. And what a hard, suspicious face did he exhibit! And how we had to coax him to join us in a little regular worship! It was at least an hour before he would consent at all. But in the course of worship his features softened, and his mind 'crossed over,' as he expressed it, to our religion; and I returned to the boat inclined to believe that all things are possible with God."

Those who were disposed to reject the Gospel, oftentimes showed a bitter hostility to the profession of Christianity by their relations. The disciples who accompanied Mr. Judson, after visiting a village, "returned with the report that the place is divided against itself. Some are for and some against us. The opposition is rather violent. One man threatens to turn his aged father out of doors if he embraces the Christian religion." Such demonstrations did not disconcert our subject. "Perhaps," he writes, "this is not to be regretted. Satan never frets without cause."

The native assistants whom our missionary employed were not perfect, and some of them had to receive "line upon line," before they knew what spirit

they were of. A glimpse of the training given these helpers is presented in the journal: "Moung Zuthee unfortunately encountered a very respectable Burman priest, with a train of novices, who, not relishing his doctrine, fell upon him, and gave him a sound beating. The poor man fled home in great dismay, and, I am sorry to say, some wrath, begging leave to assemble our forces and seize the aggressor for the purpose of delivering him up to justice. I did assemble them; and all kneeling down, I praised God that he counted one of our number worthy to suffer a little for his Son's sake; and prayed that he would give us a spirit of forgiveness, and our persecutors every blessing, temporal and spiritual; after which we left the field of battle with cool and happy minds."

When children were born in the first years of missionary life, Mr. Judson was in the custom of inviting parents and relatives to hold a prayer-meeting to supplicate the blessing of God upon them. The following, as an illustration of his practice, may be found under date March 2d. The husband had been baptized on his first visit, and the wife had just made a similar profession. After her baptism they "united in presenting their younger children that I might lay my hands on them and bless them. The elder children, being capable of discerning good from evil, came of their own accord, and held up their folded hands in the act of homage to their parent's God, while we offered a prayer that they might obtain grace to become true disciples, and receive the holy ordinance of baptism." In later years the increase of the number of converts caused Mr. Judson to discontinue this practice. Others were fearful that it might assume a sacramental character in the eyes of the people.

The following record occurred in the journal March 11, Lord's day—"Again took the main river, and soon fell in with a boat, containing several of the listeners of yesterday, among whom was one man who declared his resolution to enter the new religion. We had scarcely parted with this boat when we met another, full of men, coming down the stream; and, on hailing to know whether they wished to hear the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, an elderly man, the chief of the party, replied that he had already heard much of the Gospel, and there was nothing he desired more than to have a meeting with the teacher. Our boats were soon side by side, where, after a short engagement, the old man struck his colors, and begged us to take him into port, where he could make a proper surrender of himself to Christ. We accordingly went to the shore, and spent several hours very delightfully, under the shade of the overhanging trees, and the banner of the love of Jesus. The old man's experience was so clear, and his desire for baptism so strong, that, though circumstances prevented our gaining so much testimony of his good conduct since believing as we usually require, we felt it would be wrong to refuse his request."

While thus disposed to accept the evidence of conversion, he was not willing to baptize any concerning whom he was in doubt. In company with this old man was a lad, who "desired also to be baptized. But though he had been a preacher to the old man, his experience was not so decided and satisfactory, so that," Mr. Judson writes, "we rejected him for the present. The old man went on his way, rejoicing aloud and declaring his resolution to make known the eternal God and the dying love of Jesus all along the banks of the Yoon-za-len, his native stream."

The same day the old man was baptized our missionary wrote: "The dying words of an aged man of God, when he raised his withered, death-struck arm, and exclaimed, '*The best of all is, God is with us*,' I feel in my very soul. Yes, the great Invisible is in these Karen wilds. That mighty Being, who heaped up these craggy rocks, and reared these stupendous mountains, and poured out these streams in all directions, and scattered immortal beings throughout these deserts—he is present by the influence of his Holy Spirit, and accompanies the sound of the Gospel with converting, sanctifying power. '*The best of all is, God is with us.*'

> 'In *these* deserts let me labor,
> On *these* mountains let me tell
> How he died—the blessed Saviour,
> To redeem a world from hell.'"

Very different were his emotions the next day. The superstitions of the people proved a test of Christian principle, which in most instances was met with courage and decision, but some proved insufficient for the trial, and so our missionary had to write: "Alas! how soon is our joy turned into mourning. Mah Nyah-ban, of whom we all had such a high opinion, joined her husband, not many days after their baptism, in making an offering to the demon of diseases, on account of the sudden, alarming illness of their youngest child; and they have remained ever since in an impenitent, prayerless state.' They now refuse to listen to our exhortation, and appear to be given over to hardness of heart and blindness of mind. I was, therefore, obliged, this morning, to pronounce the sentence of suspension, and leave them to the mercy and judgment of God. Their case is greatly to be deplored. They are quite alone

in this quarter, have seen no disciples since we left them, and are surrounded with enemies, some from Maulmain, who have told them all manner of lies, and used every effort to procure and perpetuate their apostasy. When I consider the evidence of grace which they formerly gave, together with all the palliating circumstances of the case, I have much remaining hope that they will yet be brought to repentance. I commend them to the prayers of the faithful, and the notice of any missionary who may travel that way. In consequence of the advantage which Satan has gained in this village, the six hopeful inquirers whom we left here have all fallen off; so that we are obliged to retire with the dispirited feelings of beaten troops."

After this period our missionary's message met with a varying reception. "Some believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not." At the end of March Mr. Judson went down the Salwen to Maulmain, and writes on the 27th of the month: "Am glad, yet sorry, to find that brother Bennett arrived a fortnight ago from Calcutta with a complete fount of types, and yesterday sent a boat to call me, which, however, passed us on the way. Must I, then, relinquish my intention of making another trip up the river before the rains set in? Must I relinquish for many months, and perhaps forever, the pleasure of singing as I go:

> 'In these deserts let me labor,
> On these mountains let me toil?'

Truly the tears fall as I write."

It seemed the path of duty to settle down again in Maulmain, and March 30th he wrote: "Corrected the first proof of the New Testament in Burman."

Cheering accounts of the progress of the Gospel in

the jungle reached him shortly after he resumed his residence at Maulmain. The favorable prospects and pressing need of the various fields caused the brethren of the mission to feel that a re-enforcement was necessary. To urge this on the attention of the church in America, Mr. Judson drew up the following communication. As there is considerable reference in it to the Karens, and it is in chronological order, it is inserted here.

TO THE AMERICAN BAPTIST BOARD FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

MAULMAIN, *June* 4, 1832.

RESPECTED FATHERS AND BRETHREN—At our monthly concert this morning it was unanimously agreed that a joint letter should be addressed to you, on the importance of sending out more missionaries to this part of the heathen world. Being every one of us exceedingly pressed for want of time, we can not stop to prepare an elaborate statement, but must come at once to the point in hand.

We are in distress. We see thousands perishing around us. We see mission stations opening on every side, the fields growing whiter every day, and no laborers to reap the harvest. If each one of us could divide himself into three parts, happy would he be, not only to take leave of his native land and beloved connections at home, but of still nearer and more intimate connections. We want instantly to send aid to the Tavoy station, where brother Mason is laboring, almost alone. We want instantly to send a missionary to Mergui, a pleasant, healthful town, south of Tavoy, where a small church has been raised up, and left in charge of a native pastor. Our hearts bleed when we think of poor Mergui and the Karens in that vicinity, many of whom are ready to embrace the Gospel and be saved. But how can we allow ourselves to think of that small place, when the whole kingdom of Siam lies in our rear, and the city of Bangkok, at once a port for ships and the seat of imperial government? We want instantly to dispatch one of our number to Bangkok. One? There ought, at this moment, to be three, at least, on their way to that important place. Another ought to be on his way to Yah-heing, a large town, east of Maulmain, from which there is a fine river leading down to Bangkok; there are many Karens at Yah-heing. The Christian religion is creeping that way, by means of our Karen disciples. North of Yah-heing and the Thoung-yen river, the boundary of the British territory on

that side, lies the kingdom or principality of Zen-mai. There have been several communications between the government of Maulmain and Lah-bong, the present capital of that country. Moung Shway-bwen, one of our disciples, formerly with brother Boardman at Tavoy, is a nephew of the prince, or deputy prince, of that country, and is anxious to return thither. But how can we send him, a very young man, without a missionary? If we had a spare missionary, what a fine opportunity for introducing the Gospel into that central nation! It would open the way to other neighboring nations, not even mentioned in foreign geographies, and even to the borders of China and Tartary. Between Maulmain and Zen-mai are various tribes of Karens, Toungthoos, Lah-wahs, etc. The former are literally crying out aloud for a written language, that they may read in their own tongue the wonderful works of God. From the banks of the Yoon-za-len, on the northwest, the celebrated prophet of the Karens has repeatedly sent down messages and presents to us, begging that we would come and instruct his people in the Christian religion. But how can we think of supplying that quarter, when the old kingdom of Arracan, now under British rule, and speaking the same language with the Burmese, is crying, in the whole length and breadth of her coast, for some one to come to her rescue? In that country are one or two hundred converts, and one country-born missionary, from the Serampore connection, who is laboring without any prospect of re-enforcement from Bengal, and desirous that one of us should join him. Kyouk Phyoo, lately established by the English, is esteemed a healthy place. The commandant is disposed to welcome a missionary, and afford him every facility. Our hearts bleed when we think of Kyouk Phyoo, and the poor inquirers that one of our number lately left there, ready to embrace the Christian religion, if he would only promise to remain or send a successor. From Kyouk Phyoo the way is open into the four provinces of Arracan: namely, Rek-keing, Cheduba, Ramree, and Sandoway; and what a grand field for our tracts, and the New Testament, now in press! Of all the places that now cry around us, we think that Kyouk Phyoo cries the loudest. No; we listen again, and the shrill cry of golden Ava rises above them all. O Ava! Ava! with thy metropolitan walls and gilded turrets, thou sittest a lady among these Eastern nations; but our hearts bleed for thee! In thee is no Christian church, no missionary of the Cross.

We have lately heard of the death of poor Prince Myen Zeing. He died without any missionary or Christian to guide his groping soul on the last dark journey. Where has that journey terminated? Is he in the bright world of paradise, or in the burning lake? He had attained some knowledge of the way of salvation. Perhaps, in his last hours, he turned away his head from the gold and silver idols around his

couch, and looked to the crucified Saviour. But those who first taught him were far away; so he died and was buried like a heathen. It is true that the one of our number who formerly lived at Ava would not be tolerated during the present reign; but another missionary would, doubtless, be well received, and, if prudent, be allowed to remain. Two missionaries ought, at this moment, to be studying the language *in Ava*.

O, God of mercy, have mercy on Ava, and Chageing, and A-ma-ra-poo-ra. Have mercy on Pugan and Prome (poor Prome!), on Toung-oo, on the port of Bassein, and on all the towns between Ava and Rangoon. Have mercy on old Pegu and the surrounding district. Have mercy on the four provinces of Arracan. Have mercy on the inhabitants of the banks of the Yoon-za-len, the Salwen, the Thoung-yen, and the Gyne. Have mercy on all the Karens, the Toung-thoos, the Lah-wahs, and other tribes, whose names, though unknown to Christian lands, are known to thee. Have mercy on Zen-mai, on Lah-bong, Myeing-yoon-gyee, and Yay-heing. Have mercy on Bangkok, and the kingdom of Siam, and all the other principalities that lie on the north and east. Have mercy on poor little Mergui, and Pah-lan, and Yay, and Lah-meing, and Nah-zaroo, and Amherst, and the island of Baloo, with its villages of Talings and Karens. Have mercy on our mission stations at Tavoy, Maulmain, and Rangoon, and our sub-stations at Mergui, Chummerah, and Newville. Pour out thine Holy Spirit upon us and our assistants, upon our infant churches and our schools. Aid us in the solemn and laborious work of translating and printing thine holy, inspired Word in the languages of these heathen. O, keep our faith from failing, our spirits from sinking, and our mortal frames from giving way prematurely under the influence of the climate and the pressure of our labors. Have mercy on the Board of Missions, and grant that our beloved and respected fathers and brethren may be aroused to greater effort, and go forth personally into all parts of the land, and put in requisition all the energies of thy people. Have mercy on the churches in the United States; hold back the curse of Meroz; continue and perpetuate the heavenly revivals of religion which they have begun to enjoy; and may the time soon come when no church shall dare to sit under Sabbath and sanctuary privileges without having one of their number to represent them on heathen ground. Have mercy on the theological seminaries, and hasten the time when one half of all who yearly enter the ministry shall be taken by thine Holy Spirit and *driven* into the wilderness, feeling a sweet necessity laid on them, and the precious love of Christ and of souls constraining them. Hear, O Lord, all the prayers which are this day presented in all the monthly concerts throughout the habitable globe, and hasten the millennial glory, for which we are all longing, and

praying, and laboring. Adorn thy beloved one in her bridal vestments, that she may shine forth in immaculate beauty and celestial splendor. Come, O our Bridegroom; come, Lord Jesus; come quickly. Amen and Amen.

(Signed) C. BENNETT,
OLIVER T. CUTTER,
JOHN TAYLOR JONES,
A. JUDSON,
J. WADE.

Chapter Fourteenth.

STUDY-LIFE.

"I endure all things for the elect's sakes."—2 Timothy ii. 10.

AFTER his return from Prome in 1830, at the request of the board, Mr. Judson, as already shown, resumed the work of translation. This task was not one to which he would have given himself of his own choice. The preaching of the word was a far more congenial employment, and it was only in consequence of the urgent representations of his American friends that he gave himself to the labors of the study. The board recognized the fact that such toils were "exhausting to the spirits and strength;" but it rightly judged that his qualifications for the translation of the Scriptures were of such an order that he ought not to contemplate any other work till this was done. As the fruit of his toil, in addition to the New Testament, which he had translated in previous years, Genesis, one half of Exodus, Psalms, Solomon's Song, Isaiah, and Daniel were rendered into Burmese before his return to Maulmain, in 1831. With this important beginning he addressed himself to his task, with the hope of carrying it forward to its consummation, June 25th, 1832. The following extract from his correspondence shows the course he laid out for himself: "Since my last date, brother Wade, having had a violent attack of disease,

has been obliged to come hither in haste* for medical aid; and I have succeeded in persuading him to stay, for the following reason: Finding that I should be confined to this place for several months, for the purpose of superintending the printing of the New Testament, I was led to turn my attention again to the Old, one third only of which is yet done; and on making a calculation, I found that I could finish the whole in two years, if I confined myself exclusively to the work; otherwise it would hang on four years or more. Considering the uncertainty of life, and the tenor of numerous letters lately received from home, I concluded that it was my duty to adopt the former course; in order to which, however, it was necessary that one of my brethren acquainted with the language should be stationed here, to take charge of the church and people of Maulmain, and the Karens in this region. On stating these things to brother and sister Wade, they concluded to remain, though nothing was farther from their minds when they first came round. I have, therefore, retired to a room which I had previously prepared, at the end of the native chapel, where I propose, if life be spared, *to shut myself up for the next two years;* and I beg the prayers of my friends that in my *seclusion* I may enjoy the presence of the Saviour, and that special aid in translating the inspired Word which I fully believe will be vouchsafed in answer to humble, fervent prayer."

The proposed time of *seclusion* was extended far beyond his expectation. He can scarcely be said to have been emancipated from the study till 1840. The records which this long period affords are comparatively

* From Rangoon.

few. There can be but little stirring incident in the life of a man who spends every day in voluntary loneliness, and who, with the exception of sometimes seizing on some new book from which it is possible he may draw a little fresh light for his undertaking, constantly devotes his attention to that volume, which beyond all others is a

> "book of ancient date,
> With filial awe; and dipping oft his pen
> To write immortal things; to pleasure deaf,
> And joys of common men; working his way
> With mighty energy."

His course at this time was quiet, but it was not the quietude of stagnation. It was, like the foot of time, unheard; but its very silence was the pledge of the magnificence of the results. A missionary's wife at this time describing his habits said: "His days and nights are spent in a room adjoining the native chapel, where he spends all his time, except that devoted to meals (twice a day) and exercise, and generally one hour or so of social conversation with one of the mission families in the evening. He is confining himself as closely as possible to the completion of his translation of the Scriptures."

Mr. Judson was soon disappointed in his expectations of release from toil by the presence of Mr. Wade—the health of the latter being so impaired that before the end of 1832 he had to leave for the United States. By him Mr. Judson forwarded the following letter:

TO THE BAPTIST CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES.

MAULMAIN, *November* 21, 1832.

DEAR BRETHREN AND SISTERS—I send this line by brother Wade, who, having had ten attacks of his disease within a year, the last of which reduced him to such a state that his life was despaired of, is obliged, at the urgent advice of his physician, to take a long voyage, as the only means of prolonging his life.

Brother Boardman has left us altogether, having obtained an honorable discharge from this warfare. Brother Jones has gone far hence to Siam. In suffering him to go, we cherish the hope that in us would be fulfilled that saying, "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth." Brothers Kincaid and Mason, though indefatigable in their application to the language, are yet unable to afford much efficient aid. Brothers Bennett and Cutter are necessarily confined to the printing-house. Permit us, therefore, in these straitened circumstances, with all Burmah on our hands, once more to approach your numerous and flourishing churches, sitting every man under his vine and under his fig tree, laden with the richest fruit, and to beseech you to take into compassionate consideration the perishing millions of Burmah, ignorant of the eternal God, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the blessed way of salvation; and, in consideration of the ruin impending on their immortal souls, and in remembrance of the grace of the Saviour, who shed his blood for you and for them, to send out a few of your sons and daughters to accompany brother and sister Wade, on their return to this land.

I would add, as a very powerful inducement to embrace the present opportunity, that it will not only insure the company and instructions of brother and sister Wade, but the instructions of two native converts, in consequence of which those who now volunteer their services will be able, especially if the study of the language be immediately commenced, to proclaim the glad tidings almost as soon as they land on these shores.

We have now five native churches, and above three hundred communicants; and a spirit of religious inquiry is spreading in all directions. Who will come over into Macedonia and help us?

Your brother and fellow-laborer in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, A. JUDSON.

The departure of so valuable a coadjutor as Mr. Wade greatly deranged Mr. Judson's plans, and prevented the entire seclusion which he desired. He wrote as follows, about a month after his departure:

TO THE REV. DR. BOLLES.

MAULMAIN, *December* 19, 1832.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—As proposed in my last, I have spent several months in prosecuting the translation of the Old Testament, and I made such progress that I hoped to finish it by the end of 1833. But brother Wade having lost his health, and been obliged to leave us for a time, I find myself under the necessity of changing my plan. The New Testament is out of press to-day, and to-morrow I leave this for the Karen wilderness, where I expect to spend the next four months

It is not my intention, however, to travel about as formerly, but to remain at Chummerah, on the Salwen, and, in the intervals of receiving company, to go on with the translation, though not so rapidly or to so good advantage as hitherto. During my absence, the digest of Scripture, made by brother Boardman, and remade by me, the Epitome of the Old Testament, a separate edition of Luke and John, the Three Sciences (revised), and sundry tracts, Burman, Taling, and Karen, as they are required, will be carried through the press; and on my return next May we hope to commence printing the Old Testament.

Since my last date there have been nine natives baptized, three of them Karens, and eleven Europeans. We have also just heard of two more baptized at Rangoon. A. JUDSON.

Various circumstances delayed the execution of Mr. Judson's purpose of visiting Chummerah, so that he did not leave Maulmain till January 18th, 1833. By the end of the month he was there diligently pursuing his vocation. He returned to Maulmain early in April. "This visit to the Karens," he remarks, "has not, like my former visits, been devoted to laboring among the people; but, according to a determination made some time ago, to suffer nothing to interrupt the translation of the Old Testament until it was done, I took my books with me, and sat down to my studies the same as if I had been in this place. I have, therefore, done but little for the poor people, besides conducting daily evening worship, and the usual Lord's day worship, through interpreters."

In June he wrote: "I am toiling on in the Old Testament. Am now in the sixteenth chapter of Ezekiel. The minor prophets, and the historical books, from 1 Kings to Esther inclusive, still remain. Should I escape the fall fever, of which, however, I have no reasonable hope, and encounter no other interruption, I should certainly finish by the end of the year."

Some little time after the above was written, sick-

ness interfered with his plans, and in September he wrote: "I have lost a month through a complication of ailments, but am now better. Have no remaining hope of finishing the translation of the Old Testament by the end of the year, but shall do as well as I can."

The end of the year found him "faint, yet pursuing." In a letter written December 31, 1833, he says: "I did hope, at one time, to have been able to insert, under this date, a notice of the completion of the Old Testament; but though I have long devoted nearly all my time to that work, I have found it so heavy, and my health (as usual this season) so poor, that, though near the goal, I can not yet say I have attained."

The letter in which we find the above was detained another month, and then he added the following:

"P. S. *January* 31, 1834.—Thanks be to God, I can *now* say I have attained. I have knelt down before him, with the last leaf in my hand, and imploring his forgiveness for all the sins which have polluted my labors in this department, and his aid in future efforts to remove the errors and imperfections which necessarily cleave to the work, I have commended it to his mercy and grace; I have dedicated it to his glory. MAY HE MAKE HIS OWN INSPIRED WORD, NOW COMPLETE IN THE BURMAN TONGUE, THE GRAND INSTRUMENT OF FILLING ALL BURMAH WITH SONGS OF PRAISE TO OUR GREAT GOD AND SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST. AMEN."

Many have been the eloquent remarks which this glorious achievement has called forth. There is both truth and beauty in those of Dr. Hague: "If in a coming age some Allston should wish to employ his pencil in picturing forth a single action that should express at once the great aim, the chosen means, and the true spirit of the modern missionary enterprise, he

could scarcely select a more fitting scene than that which heaven witnessed with a smile, when Adoniram Judson was seen kneeling by the side of that table, over which he had long bent his frame in studious application, holding in his hand the last leaf of the Burman Bible, with his eyes uplifted, and with a countenance radiant with joy, thanking God that his life had been spared to achieve this work, and imploring the Divine Spirit to make the silent page a messenger of life to many." The scene, as presented in the frontispiece of this volume, justifies these remarks.

When we contemplate the possible and almost certain results of giving a translated Bible to nations who have been destitute of it, can the laborer or the work be too highly estimated? The tribute which has been rendered to the translator of the Scriptures into another language of the East any Christian might feel it a privilege to offer concerning the Burmese Bible. "Let others pay their honors where they will; the profoundest reverence, the liveliest thanks I may offer to a creature, shall be reserved from genius, grandeur, heroism, but cheerfully rendered to him by whose godly toil a wide-spoken tongue is first made to utter the words whereby my Redeemer may be known, my fellow-sinners may be saved. The deed is too vast for the chronicles of earth, too pure for the praise of men. Every letter of its record will be a regenerated soul, every stone of its testimonial a redeemed family, every note of its pæan an angel's joy. He who can pursue the sunbeams, and trace, without one omission, every lineament of beauty they pencil on tree, and flower, and living thing, may tell the blessings that accrue when the light of life is flung on the pathway of millions whom darkness bewildered and destroyed."

While our missionary was greatly absorbed in the completion of his version of the Scriptures, he was not indifferent to the labors in which his associates engaged. Every indication of progress afforded him joy, This may especially be affirmed concerning the attempt of Mr. Kincaid to re-establish the mission in Ava. Like as our Lord ever manifested concern for Jerusalem, so his sympathies were always drawn forth for Ava; and as He who suffered for our redemption sent forth his disciples to preach, "beginning at Jerusalem," the scene of his deepest humiliation and agony, so, after the painful experiences Mr. Judson had known at Ava, the intenseness of his desire for the salvation of its people was the more apparent. On receiving a letter from Mr. Kincaid, detailing his adventures and prospects at the Burmese capital, which he forwarded to Boston, he wrote the following characteristic note:

TO THE REV. DR. BOLLES.

MAULMAIN, *July* 28, 1833.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—I write a line to accompany brother Kincaid's letter. If there was not a God I should have no hope that he would remain long at Ava. The way in which he has been led is not exactly the way that human wisdom would have devised; but God's ways are not like our ways. I have written to him to the following purport: "You have done well. You deserve the thanks of the mission for the bold yet prudent means you have taken to establish a branch of the mission at Ava. Maintain your footing in that capital, without the interference of British authority, if possible; but, at any rate, in God's name, maintain your footing."

Yours, respectfully, A. JUDSON.

Not only was he concerned for Burmah, but our missionary's study seems to have been a watch-tower, from which he could survey the whole world. Soon after he heard of the formation of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society he wrote to the Rev.

Dr. Going, expressing a most affectionate interest in its operations, remarking, that although the home and foreign fields are distant, yet the laborers are one in heart and one in object. Nor was this concern for human salvation in other regions limited by the mere prompting of patriotism. When he returned from the jungle in 1831, he wrote to the United States, expressing his warm interest in the salvation of the Jews, and sought to induce the Baptist Board of Missions to engage in efforts to gather them to Christ. In 1832, having read the considerations which the Rev. Howard Malcom presented to the Triennial Convention, in favor of a mission to France, he wrote to him, concerning it, as follows:

REV. AND DEAR SIR—I can not let pass the present opportunity of forwarding letters to Bengal without dropping a line, to say with what deep interest I have read the compendium of your remarks on the expediency of attempting a mission to France. The sentence, "Evangelized France, teeming with religious books, would furnish reading to all the intelligent classes in Europe," contains a volume. O that the people of the United States would read it well, and rise at the call! Much as I feel for perishing Burmah, I would heartily rejoice in having a very large proportion of missionary supplies drawn off for the rescue of perishing France.

On finishing your remarks I could not help crying out, "Why does he not go himself? What object in Boston—what in the United States—can equal in importance that which he has presented?" But whether you go yourself, or not, I pray God that you and all your compeers may awake more and more to the holiest, the most devoted energies, in view of the interesting fields of labor which are opening around—the valley of the Mississippi, the land of France, the regions consecrated by ancient inspiration, and the remoter regions of Burmah and Siam.

The translation, we have seen, was completed Jan. 31st, but there was an important work of revision yet to accomplish. This occupied Mr. Judson's chief attention for several subsequent years. Nevertheless, he seized on short intervals for preaching; and thus,

while revising a few books of the Old Testament for the press, the regular printing of which commenced in April, 1834, he found time to visit the Karen Christians, at Newville, and baptized several converts. Such excursions he regarded as relaxations from toil. To these he was also urged that he might, by his own course, demonstrate the importance he felt of missionaries being scattered throughout the country.

While prosecuting this revision, he released himself for a visit to Tavoy. There, after having been a widower eight years, he was united in marriage to Mrs. Sarah Boardman, the widow of his former beloved colleague. This ceremony took place April 10th. He thus refers to it in his correspondence: "To-day, having received the benediction of the Rev. Mr. Mason, I embark for Maulmain, accompanied by Mrs. Judson, and the only surviving child of the beloved founder of the Tavoy station. Once more, farewell to thee, Boardman, and thy long-cherished grave. May thy memory be ever fresh and fragrant, as the memory of the other beloved, whose beautiful, death-marred form reposes at the foot of the hopia tree. May we, the survivors, so live as to deserve and receive the smiles of those sainted ones who have gone before us. And at last may we all four be reunited before the throne of glory, and form a peculiarly happy family, our mutual loves all purified and consummated in the bright world of love."

At the end of the year 1834, Mr. Judson made the following report concerning his employments for previous months: "As for myself, I have been almost entirely confined to the very tedious work of revising the Old Testament. The revision of about one half is completed, and the books from 1st Samuel to Job, in-

clusive, have been printed in an edition of two thousand. We should have put the first volume to press some time ago, had we not been obliged to wait for paper, the London paper not matching the American; and now, though paper has arrived, brother Hancock contemplates going to America for new founts of types, in several languages, and brother Cutter has gone on another visit to Ava, so that we shall not probably recommence printing the Old Testament till his return. I am the more satisfied with this arrangement from having just received a complete set of Rosenmuller on the Old Testament, and some other valuable works, in studying which I am very desirous of going over the whole ground once more."

The labors of his revision compelled him to leave all preaching, except on the Lord's day, to others. Nevertheless, he desired to promote this important object as far as possible. The admirable expedient he adopted is shown in the following extract from a letter to Dr. Bolles, dated June 30th, 1835: "I have lately adopted the plan of employing several native assistants to itinerate in the town and the neighboring villages, for the purpose of making known the Gospel and distributing tracts. They meet every morning in my study to pray, and to report the labors and successes of the preceding day. This gives me an excellent opportunity for correcting their mistakes, and furnishing them with new topics of argument and exhortation. I have never adopted a plan which pleased me so much, and appeared to be fraught with so many benefits both to the assistants and the people at large. I judge, from the daily reports I receive, that a spirit of inquiry and a disposition to listen are gradually gaining ground in this uncommonly stupid, obstinate place."

The same letter exhibits his employments in what was peculiarly his own department: "As to myself, I am never at leisure to go out, being closely employed in revising the translation of the Old Testament, and reading proof-sheets of Scripture and tracts. The first volume of the Old Testament was completed, in an edition of two thousand, on the 4th instant, the second volume having been previously done. The third and last, from Psalms to Malachi, will, we hope, be completed, in an edition of three thousand, before the end of the year. Besides the Old Testament, the presses have been employed in printing our standard tracts, in editions of thirty and forty thousand. I hope, as soon as the whole Bible is out of press, to be at leisure to add a few new tracts and elementary works to our present scanty stock, and also to attend to the more systematic instruction of the assistants, particularly the younger ones."

By the close of the year the whole Bible was printed. The following letter gives information concerning this and other translations:

TO THE REV. DR. CONE.

MAULMAIN, *February* 4, 1836.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—The Burman Bible, in four volumes, octavo, containing nearly 2,400 pages, was completed on the 29th of December last. We are now printing a second edition of the Psalms, and are preparing to print a second edition of the New Testament. In the Taling language the New Testament is nearly translated by a native scholar, a Christian; but it must be thoroughly examined and revised by one of our number, who is studying Taling for that purpose, before we shall venture to publish it.* In the Karen language the New Testament is in course of translation at Tavoy, and some part of it will be printed as soon as we can obtain a complete fount of Karen types, which we are expecting within three or four months.

* This work was accomplished by Mrs. Judson amid many domestic cares.

As to introducing Chinese Scriptures into the south-western part of the empire, I have no doubt it can be done by two routes—from Ava and from Sadiya. But the missionaries at those stations will doubtless be collecting information on that very important point.

It is impossible to say how many Bibles could be distributed in Burmah. If the government were tolerant, I should say tens of thousands, whether they could or would be read immediately or not. But one word from the viceroy of Rangoon would close that port against our bibles and tracts, and that port is the key to the whole country; so that we are obliged to proceed prudently; or if we had a printing establishment in the country, the importation of paper, and even the operation of the press itself, could be prohibited with the same ease.

But we must all go forward, preaching the Gospel, and distributing bibles and tracts in every possible way, and in every language under heaven. If one door is shut up, we must push in at another. *Victory, we are sure, will be ours at last.*

I rejoice in the assurance that we have your prayers; and to every friend of the Saviour I would say, *Brother, pray for us.* May the Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit. A. JUDSON.

In February, 1836, our missionary was cheered by a visit from the Rev. Howard Malcom, D. D., now president of the university at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Dr. Malcom, as is generally known, was appointed to visit the missions of the board in Asia, with a view of gathering information, and of eliciting the views of the missionaries on various important topics. Much of his time, while in Tenasserim, was spent in the house of Mr. Judson. To him the arrival of a minister from America was a very welcome event, and as he had been in the custom of corresponding with Dr. Malcom, he was especially refreshed by his coming. At the close of the month of March a convocation of the missionaries was held, for the consideration of questions which had caused the sending of the deputation. During these meetings Mr. Judson heard Dr. Malcom preach. It is worthy of remark that this was the first discourse in English which he had heard in fourteen years! In

May following he himself preached a sermon in English, on the occasion of Mr. Osgood's ordination. It is probable that this was the only English sermon he ever preached in Burmah. Some services in Rangoon in the first days of missionary life, and the few addresses he may have made in the meetings of the English soldiers, on resuming his work after the war, probably comprise all his efforts in his native tongue.

While Dr. Malcom remained in Maulmain, it was customary for Mr. Judson and himself to pursue their walks together, in the evenings, upon the hills in the vicinity of the town. In one at least of the excursions Dr. Malcom made, that up the Salwen, Mr. Judson bore him company. This visit from a representative of the board proved not only beneficial to the interests of the mission, but very consoling to the missionaries in their labors. One result of this deputation was the issue of a work of travels,* which Mr. Judson regarded as the very best book on missions extant. "There is," he wrote, "more correct information in that book on subjects connected with modern missions than can be found in any other publication."

In the early part of the year 1836 our missionary's chief employment was the revision, for new editions, of tracts and other publications which had been previously issued. In May he once more commenced a revision of the New Testament, in connection with the "Life of Christ," a work of two hundred octavo pages. The revision of the former he reported completed in January, 1837, but he continued making improvements till the last proof-sheet went to press. This occupied him till March 22d.

* "Travels in South-Eastern Asia."

On the completion of this revision, Mr. Judson made a visit of some days to Dong-yan, a mission station, then under the charge of Miss Macomber. Here he baptized three persons. On his return he became unwell from exposure to the sun. This almost entirely prevented his participation in the pleasure given the mission families by the visit of Messrs. Thomas, Bronson, and Hall, designated to the Shyan and Telinga missions, and then on their way to their appointed stations.

Hoping that his labors, in connection with the printing-office, would engross less attention, Mr. Judson determined to devote a part of his time to more public efforts of usefulness. Addressing the corresponding secretary, March 29th, he says:

"I am now writing in a zayat by the wayside, not far from the mission-house, where I daily sit to receive company. I have some hopeful inquirers, and a few applicants for baptism. It is my earnest desire to spend the rest of my days in more direct missionary work than my studies for many years past have permitted. May the Lord grant my desire, if it accord with his blessed will, and fit me to be a faithful missionary."

Describing his employment, June 30th, he wrote: "My days are commonly spent in the following manner: the morning in reading Burman; the forenoon in a public zayat, with some assistant, preaching to those who call; the afternoon in preparing or revising something for the press, correcting proof-sheets, etc.; the evening in conducting worship in the native chapel, and conversing with the assistants and other native Christians or inquirers."

On the last day of the year he wrote: "My principal work in the study, besides correcting a part of the Old Testament, has been a 'Digest of Scripture,' con-

sisting of extracts from the Old and New Testaments, partly taken from Brown's 'Selection,' Boardman's 'Digest,' and other similar works. Upon this 'Digest' I have spent nearly four months, intending, according to the best of my ability, to make it an elaborate work, containing the most important passages of Scripture, arranged under successive heads, beginning with 'The Scripture of Truth,' and closing with 'The Retributions of Eternity.' I trust this work will be as valuable as the 'Life of Christ,' and perhaps more useful as a book of reference."

After this time it was determined to print a new edition of the Burmese Bible in one volume quarto. In view of this Mr. Judson determined to give several parts of the Old Testament a careful revision. He was occupied in this revision during the early part of 1838, and in a letter dated June 28th he says: "This work will employ all my time for a year to come. I am anxious to make a thorough revision of the Psalms and the Prophets, with the help of the latest exegetical works that I have been able to procure."

With respect to other labors he says: "The usual worship has been conducted in the native chapel every evening, and in the forenoon of Lord's days. For a few months I attended evening meetings in different parts of the town, the native chapel being supplied by other members of the mission. But as the rainy season approached, and work also increased in the printing-office, I found it necessary to return to my old routine."

For some time prior to the commencement of the year 1839 Mr. Judson suffered so severely from inflammation of the throat and lungs, that he was deprived of the use of his voice, and fears were entertained that his disease would lead to confirmed consumption. By

the advice of his physician he determined to take a voyage to Calcutta. Leaving Maulmain February 19th he arrived there on the 9th of the following month. This proved to him one of the most interesting seasons he ever spent away from his own station. Anxious however, to return to his field, he seized on the slightest evidence of amended health, and left Calcutta March 31st. Before he reached Maulmain, the old soreness of the lungs and tendency to cough returned. He was thus evidently shown that it was almost exclusively by the pen that he might hope to be useful. When he arrived at home he spent most of his time as formerly, in revision labors. He so far recovered his voice as to be able to conduct worship in the native chapel in October; but his week-day toils for the several months preceding the close of the year were devoted to the revision of the Old Testament. Early in the month of February, 1840, Mr. Judson left Maulmain for a visit to Rangoon. He returned to his station by the close of the month. By diligent effort his labors in revising for the quarto edition of the Bible were finished October 24th, 1840. Having now completed his revision he made a renewed dedication of his version: "I commend the work, such as it is, to God, to the church in Burmah, and to my successors in this department of labor, begging them not to spare my errors, and yet not prematurely to correct a supposed error without consulting the various authors whom I have consulted, and ascertaining the reasons of my position; and especially not to adopt a plausible correction, in one instance, without inquiring whether it is admissible and advisable in all parallel and similar passages."

Thus did God give our missionary to see the completion of a work which even before he entered a mis-

sionary field had appeared to him an achievement that in good part would prepare him to adopt the language of Simeon: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." For this work he had a peculiar preparation. He had been cast in every class of society, having stood in the palace of Burman kings, and lain down in the dungeon beside Burman thieves. At the time it was completed he had been a diligent student of Burmese for more than a quarter of a century. The form of expressions in military and commercial life, the customs of the people, in short, every thing which was necessary to render his version intelligible was at his command. In a knowledge of Burmese literature he had no superior, and every foreign work which he believed could enable him to elucidate a single verse of the sacred Scriptures was subject to most careful examination. The emendations which his brethren suggested were received in kindness, and whenever they commended themselves to his judgment were incorporated in his version. He was not a rash innovator, nor did he slavishly follow any guide. At the same time his integrity of character preserved him from the smallest perversion of Divine truth.

With regard to the revision Mr. Judson thus expressed himself in a letter to the Rev. Spencer H. Cone, D. D.: "The work was finished—that is, the revision and printing—on the 24th October last, and a happy day of relief and joy it was to me. I have bestowed more time and labor on the revision than on the first translation of the work, and more, perhaps, than is proportionate to the actual improvement made. Long and toilsome research among the biblical critics and commentators, especially the German, was frequently requisite to satisfy my mind that my first

position was the right one. Considerable improvement, however, has been made, I trust, both in point of style and approximation to the real meaning of the original. But the *beau ideal* of translation, so far as it concerns the poetical and prophetical books of the Old Testament, I profess not to have attained. If I live many years, of which I have no expectation, I shall have to bestow much more labor upon those books. With the New Testament I am rather better satisfied, and the testimony of those acquainted with the language is rather encouraging. At least, I hope that I have laid a good foundation for my successors to build upon."

The completion of the revision and the printing of the Scriptures were not only acceptable to Mr. Judson as relieving him from his seclusion, but for the higher reason that translated Scriptures gave a completeness to the machinery of the mission. A translated Bible was very necessary to the efficiency of the continually increasing native agency, and had it been only on that account, the years spent in translating and revising would have received a sufficient recompense.

To our translator the work was most of all satisfactory as it opened the prospect of giving the Bible to the people. He did not desire that missionaries should exercise the oracular dogmatism of Jesuits, nor did he fear that the ministry of the word would lose estimation in the view of men by placing the Scriptures of God in their hands. Some time previous to the completion of the revision of his translation he expressed his views of Bible distribution as follows:

"The *Bible Cause* in this country is now at a very low ebb. I once indulged the hope that I should live to see a complete copy of the whole Bible (bound in one volume, so as not to be liable to be scat-

tered) deposited in every town and village throughout Burmah and Arracan. It is true that many thousand copies would be requisite, great expense would be incurred, and much persevering effort would have to be put forth. But the work being once accomplished, there would be seed sown throughout the country, that, with the blessing of God, would spring up in abundant fruit to his glory. From the habits of the people, who frequently assemble in large or small parties at the house of the priest, or schoolmaster, or principal person in the village, and listen to one reading from a religious book, it has appeared to me, that to deposit *one Bible* at the principal place of resort in every village was the least we could do for Burmah, and that such a plan would tend more effectually than any other to fill the country with the knowledge of Divine truth.

"But the doors of Burmah proper are now closed against us.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Modern missions have been distinguished from the Roman Catholic, and, indeed, from all former missions since apostolic times, by honoring and sounding out the Word of God; and I do believe that those missions which give the highest place to the Divine Word will be most owned of God, and blessed with the influence of the Holy Spirit. There is only one book in the world which has descended from heaven; or, as I tell the Burmans, there is only one golden lamp which God has suspended from heaven to guide us thither. Shall we missionaries dare to throw a shade around it, or do aught to prevent the universal diffusion of its life-giving rays? O that one complete volume of the Bible, and not merely the New Testament (for the Word of God, though not such a book as human philosophy and logic would have devised, is, doubtless, in the eye of Infinite Wisdom, a perfect work, and just fitted to answer the great end which God has in view)—O that one copy of the Burmese Bible were safely deposited in every village where the language is understood!

"Burmah is now shut against us, but it will not be so always; and 'where there is a will there is a way.' Arracan, with her two thousand villages, or more, is even now open for the reception and deposit of two or three thousand Bibles. I would not be understood to depreciate the preaching of the Gospel—the grand means instituted by Christ for the conversion of the world—but *all our preaching must be based on the written Word;* and when the voice of the living preacher is passed away from the village, the inspired Word may still remain to convert and to edify.

"I would say, therefore, that the preached Gospel and the written Word are the *two arms* which are to pull down the kingdom of darkness, and build up the Redeemer's Let us not cut off one of these

arms, for the other will by itself be comparatively powerless, as the history of the church in every age testifies."

Perhaps a more admirable illustration of the argument and metaphor Mr. Judson used can not be found than in the case of the Ethiopian chamberlain, who, as he read the Old Testament Scriptures, felt that he needed "some man should guide him." Thus the two arms were prized and made beneficial. Such are the results which may be expected to follow from an enlightening acquaintance with the Divine Word. One whom Mr. Judson numbered among his friends* has thus spoken concerning the distribution of the Bible: "There is no voice nor language uttered; all is calm, retired, unheard by man, but all is pure, unalloyed truth; all is unmixed revelation; all is the dictate of the Holy Spirit; all is the sincere milk of the word, and these interior instructions, so far from lessening the importance of the ministry of the Gospel, and the administration of the sacraments, elevate and give dignity and force to them."

Some individuals would hesitate to give the prominence to Bible distribution which Mr. Judson did. Nevertheless his statement of the value of Scriptures, when "the voice of the living preacher is passed away," is attested by the history of missions from the beginning. It is oftentimes the case that missionaries can not give continued instruction to the same persons for any length of time, and frequently with the most faithful oral exhibition of the truth

> "Thoughts flit and flutter through the mind,
> As o'er the waves the shifting wind;
> Trackless and traceless is their flight,
> As falling stars of yesternight.

* Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta.

Or the old tide-marks on the shore
Which other tides have rippled o'er."

But if in some cases preaching of itself fails to bring men to the knowledge of the truth, even as in primitive days, the Scriptures may still be proved "able" to make men "wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus."

In the execution of translations of the Scriptures, Mr. Judson believed it the duty of those engaged in them to endeavor to ascertain the exact meaning of the original, and to express that meaning as exactly as the nature of the language into which it is translated will admit. While he was engaged in revising his translation on this principle, which he had followed from the beginning, an important controversy sprung up in Calcutta, which finally extended to both England and America. A translation of the New Testament into Bengali, by his friend Dr. Yates, was assailed by missionaries of other denominations, because it contained translations of the original Greek words relating to baptism. In consequence of their representations to the British and Foreign Bible Society, the application for assistance in printing it was referred to the Calcutta auxiliary, "with authority to contribute toward the expense of an edition, should they be of opinion that it ought to be encouraged" by the Society. In consequence of the preponderating influence of those opposed to the denominational principles of the translator, the auxiliary refused to sanction his version. In this the parent society in London sustained them. Subsequently the American Bible Society adopted a resolution "that, in appropriating money for the translating, printing, or distributing of the Sacred Scriptures in foreign languages, the managers feel at liberty to en-

courage only such versions *as conform in the principle of their translation to the common English version;* at least so far as that all the religious denominations represented in this Society can consistently use and circulate said versions in their several schools and communities." The intention of this resolution was to prevent the translation of a Greek verb and its cognates in order that the New Testament might teach nothing positive with respect to the external act in baptism. A literal interpretation of the resolution, it has been maintained and fairly proved, did not necessarily exclude a version from aid which contained translations of the words concerning which such tenderness and obscurity was demanded. At the time the English version was made, "immersion" was generally regarded as essential to the completeness of Christian baptism, in the church of the king by whose authority it was made, and was its usual custom. In rendering the term by a word signifying "immerse" in Burmese, the translator did not make the New Testament speak any plainer on baptism than it spoke to English Christendom three hundred years ago. The action of the American Bible Society was, however, meant to cut off support from all versions which did not *transfer* the Greek terms relating to baptism, so that a living teacher should be indispensable to elucidate the duty of any who desired to obey the requirement which Christ lays on those who *believe.* Mark xvi. 16.

Mr. Judson was not blind to the excellences of the English version of the Scriptures. His final revision of his version of the New Testament, he himself stated, "accords more nearly with the received English" than did the former, and with it he was "better satisfied"

than he "ever expected to be." The words "baptize" and "baptism" may be found as frequently and exclusively used in his journals as in the English New Testament. But though this was the case, he was neither prepared to put Greek nor English words in a Burmese Bible. When he made his version, it was his object to leave the meaning of no term in obscurity. He did not wish the heathen to be dependent on the assertions of foreigners, but to be able to attach a definite meaning to every word.* The specific purpose of the American Bible Society was to withdraw aid from Mr. Judson's and all similar versions. In consequence of the course the managers of that institution pursued, the Baptists thought it necessary to found a society which should support translations made on the principles previously laid down by the Board of Missions of the denomination—"That all the Missionaries of the Board who are or who shall be engaged in translating the Scriptures, be instructed to endeavor, by earnest prayer and diligent study, to ascertain the precise meaning of the original text; to express that meaning as exactly as the nature of the languages into which they shall translate the Bible will permit, and to *transfer* no words which are capable of being literally *translated*." This society is known as the American and Foreign Bible Society.

Shortly after receiving intelligence of the formation of the new society, Mr. Judson, in a letter to William

* The Rev. John Williams, better known now as the martyr of Erromanga, stated on the platform of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that in his translation of the New Testament for the people in Polynesia, he had adopted a word from the Greek for baptism. "And what meaning," inquired another speaker, "will the natives attach to that word?" The reply was: "Whatever meaning *you choose* to assign it."

Colgate, Esq., of New York, in which he gave some interesting information concerning the Burmese, Peguan, Bengali, Siamese, Karen, and Shyan versions, wrote as follows: "All the translators above mentioned I know from personal acquaintance to be able, competent men, philologists, scholars; candid, upright, conscientious searchers after truth; men who would rather have their right hands cut off than knowingly pervert a single particle of the Word of God; men who are worthy the entire confidence of the Christian public. And as we are all sworn to give in our translations, to the best of our ability, the Word of God, *the whole Word*, and nothing but the Word, in defiance of the lady of Babylon and all her progeny, there is no point in the whole visible creation to which we can look for support but the American and Foreign Bible Society. Here we stand; we can not change our position; we must not desert our post; God help us and you. In the preceding I have mentioned six translations only; but every year will doubtless bring a new one. We have the Paho, the Toungthoo, and the Kyen just at our door. And how many are at the doors of Bangkok and Sadiya, and on the way to China, and in great China itself, and in all Asia and unexplored Africa, and the islands of the sea—what pen is competent to set forth? The angel with the everlasting Gospel has already poised his wing and commenced his flight. May the prayers and the alms of the churches speed him on his glorious career through the wide world." In a letter to Dr. Cone, dated July 13th, 1836, Mr. Judson referred to several quotations in the first annual report of the American and Foreign Bible Society as expressive of his sentiments. Among others was the following, from a letter

written by the Rev. John Howard Hinton, of London: "In the name of all that is honest and faithful toward God himself or his fellow-sinner, let every man who is employed in this work *render every word into what he believes to be its meaning*. In what way else is any translator to clear his conscience? Or in what way else is any satisfactory approach to be made toward giving to the nations the 'lively oracles' of God? Let it only be supposed that a translator of the Word of God takes the recommendation given him by the committee, and ponders at every step whether the word he is employing will 'be considered objectionable' by Christians of other denominations—what must be the result of this? It will introduce into his proceedings an element directly destructive of his fidelity. Instead of inquiring simply, 'What does the Scripture mean?' he will have to ask, 'What will my brethren like?' Instead of conforming his work to the mind of God, he will bend it to the views of his fellow-Christians."

In writing again to Dr. Cone, a year and a half afterward, he thus expressed himself: "I rejoice in the formation of the Bible Translation Society in England, and in the continued prosperity of the American and Foreign Bible Society. I verily believe that it was by the special providence of God that the old Bible societies were left to take the unjustifiable course they did, in order that the peculiar truths which distinguish the Baptist denomination might be brought forward in a manner unprecedented, and ultimately triumphant. O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!"

In this paragraph Mr. Judson expressed himself strongly. As he was careful in forming his opinions, it is to be presumed that in a matter which had rele-

vancy to his own employments for years, he did not speak till he made proper inquiry. It has been said that his view of the course of the American Bible Society was formed on an imperfect knowledge of the facts. Every important document published in this country relating to the question was undoubtedly forwarded to Mr. Judson, and during the time the controversy was proceeding he was in frequent communication with the missionaries at Calcutta. In the year 1839 he visited that city, and had the opportunity of frequent conversations with Dr. Yates, whose Bengali translation elicited the adverse action of the old Bible societies. He was also in company with missionaries of other denominations. It can scarcely be thought that a man who had information from London, New York, and Calcutta could be much behind others in the knowledge of the facts of this whole controversy. During subsequent years it was quite possible for light to reach him, if in error. In the year 1845, when he visited his native country, he spent some time in company with persons opposed to the formation of the American and Foreign Bible Society, who had full opportunity to enlighten him; but he took part in its anniversary services, and again indorsed its principles.

During the period in which Mr. Judson was almost entirely confined to his revision, circumstances of great interest occurred in the mission. Accessions were made to the mission forces by the arrival of new missionaries, some of whom have proved remarkably useful. Messrs. Hancock, Brown, and Webb, with their wives, Mr. Simons, Miss Harrington, afterward Mrs. Simons, and Miss Cummings arrived in 1833. Another re-enforcement accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Wade on their return to the field in 1834. This com-

pany comprised Messrs. Howard, Vinton, Comstock, and Osgood, with their wives, and Miss Ann P. Gardner, subsequently married to Mr. Abbott, who joined the mission in 1836. In 1836 Mr. and Mrs. Haswell and Miss Macomber also reached Burmah. Some of these were called away by death, even in the period which this chapter embraces, and others were compelled by ill-health to return to the United States. The Burman missions also sustained loss by the transference of missionaries to other stations; but so long as the general cause was promoted, our missionary rejoiced. In 1832 he cordially agreed to a proposal for Mr. Jones to proceed to Siam; and in 1835, when it was proposed for Mr. Brown to remove to Assam, he wrote: "My heart leaps for joy, and swells with gratitude and praise to God, when I think of brother Jones at Bangkok, in the southern extremity of the continent, and brother Brown at Sadiya, in Assam, on the frontiers of China, immensely distant points, and of all the intervening stations, Ava, Rangoon, Kyouk Phyoo, Maulmain, and Tavoy, and the churches and schools which are springing up in every station, and throughout the Karen wilderness. Happy lot to live in these days! Oh, happy lot to be allowed to bear a part in the glorious work of bringing an apostate world to the feet of Jesus. Glory, glory be to God."

In the eight years, the records of which are embraced in this chapter, the work of the Lord prospered. The baptisms at all the stations in 1832 were 143; in 1833, 76; in 1834, 74; in 1835, 120; and in 1836, 358. In 1837 Mr. Judson only reported the baptisms at Maulmain, which were 91. After this time they were fewer, so that in 1838 he wrote: "The church is slowly increasing. About twelve a year is the small allowance

which God grants us; and this I suppose must be taken as the measure of our scanty faith. Lord, increase our faith."

In the conversions in these years were several cases of interest. Among those whom Mr. Judson baptized in 1835 was Koo-chil, a Mohammedan servant, who served Mr. and Mrs. Judson during the war, and by his faithfulness won their high regard. Our subject writes: "He came from Bengal with the first Mrs. Judson, on her return to this country in the year 1823, and since that time has been in the employ of some one of the mission families. Though a faithful, good servant, he persisted for years in rejecting all religious instruction, and maintained his allegiance to the false prophet. His wife, a Burmese woman, was baptized a year and a half ago, and that circumstance, probably, combined with all he saw and heard to bring his mind over to the Christian religion. But the process was slow, the struggle strong; he felt deeply the responsibility of changing his religion, and when he made his formal request for baptism he trembled all over. Poor old man! he is above sixty; his cheeks are quite fallen in; his long beard is quite gray; he has probably but a short time to live. May he prove to be a brand plucked out of the fire at the eleventh hour! He affectionately remembers his old mistress, and frequently sheds tears when speaking of the scenes of Ava and Amherst, where he saw her suffer and die. I hope now that they will have the pleasure of meeting again, and of renewing the old acquaintance under happier auspices."

In the company of the baptized in 1838 was the first Toungthoo. Tradition reports that the people known by this name introduced Boodhism. According to

Mr. Vinton: "They sent an embassy and obtained the sacred books from the island of Ceylon. The Burmans hearing of this sent an embassy, requesting a copy, and on being refused, declared war against them, overcame them, and returned in triumph with their priests and books. So complete was the conquest of the Burmans, that the Toungthoos have never attempted to regain their independence. They have no written language of their own." In their habits they somewhat resemble the Karens, but are in some respects in advance of that people. They are found chiefly to the northward of Maulmain.

In 1840, when the revision and printing of the Scriptures were almost completed, our translator received once more communications from the United States, requesting him to revisit the land of his birth. Shortly after his great work was finished, he replied to this invitation: "I can not persuade myself that it is my duty to leave my work at present, but to wait and see whether I shall well sustain the next rainy season. If, notwithstanding continued care, I should experience a severe relapse, and my brethren should concur in the measure, I would avail myself of the invitation of the board as a last resort, and turn my face with a clear conscience and many delightful anticipations to my native land."

When the lengthened and valuable character of the services Mr. Judson had rendered are considered, and the fact that when he received this invitation he had reached so felicitous a termination of his translation labors, while valuable coadjutors were in the field who could supply his place, with a knowledge of the ordinary yearnings of our nature we should judge that the invitation would not be declined. But he

could truly say: "To me, to live is Christ." This principle had impelled him to years of monotonous and isolated toil, and on its completion, even as Christ pleased not himself, he determined to remain at his post so long as he had the least hope of performing any service.

Chapter Fifteenth.

AFFLICTIONS AND LABORS.

"Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake which is the church; whereof I am made a minister."—Col. i. 24, 25.

ANY one acquainted with Mr. Judson's course from the commencement of his labors in Burmah to the completion of his version of Scriptures will be ready to believe his afflictions were above measure, and his labors equal to, if not more abundant than those of any servant of Christ in the present century. From the piety which seems to have marked his career, man would conclude that affliction had accomplished its ministry; but "the Lord seeth not as man seeth," and for several years he was called still to serve his generation as an "example of suffering affliction and patience," while his pursuits beautifully elucidated the Scripture, "always abounding in the work of the Lord."

The great work of translation in which Mr. Judson had been engaged being completed, he gave the following report of his subsequent toils, December 28, 1840: "Since finishing the revision of the Bible, I have resumed the charge of the native assistants, and turned my attention to the church, which has been sadly neglected for a long time. The assistants are employed in going about the town and neighboring

villages, occupying zayats, and making known the Gospel to all who will give them a hearing. They meet me at the native chapel every morning, after breakfast, and report the labors of the preceding day, and pray for the Divine blessing on the day before them."

On first secluding himself for his translation, Mr. Judson hoped, if spared to complete his work, to spend the remainder of his days in preaching. When it was done, the affection of his throat and lungs, which had troubled him for many months, was still a cause of pain and disquietude. Though improved, his voice did not recover its natural strength and tone, and the least cold he contracted caused it to break down again. By this affliction God seemed to show his servant that if he promoted his work it must be by services similar to those of previous years. This intimation he was slow to receive. To one who longed for the public labors of the zayat it was no small trial to contemplate a continuance of the seclusion of the study. Early in 1841, however, in connection with such preaching and pastoral labors as he found himself able to perform, and in compliance with the wishes of the board, our missionary made some preparation toward a Burman dictionary. He still hoped that this work would not fall upon him, not only on account of his disinclination to the seclusion it demanded, but because its relation to the salvation of souls was so indirect.

He had been permitted to make but little progress in this new undertaking when disease fell upon Mrs. Judson and three of the children. In these circumstances, on the advice of his physician and the members of the mission, who believed a change indispensable, he determined to take them to Bengal. They

accordingly embarked June 26th, 1841. Four days after leaving their home the vessel struck on shoals, and for some minutes every heart was filled with the fear of shipwreck; but, under the blessing of Providence, by good seamanship she was got off and pursued her course. Owing, however, to the fact that the southwest monsoon was prevailing, the voyage proved tempestuous, and consequently very trying to invalids. They arrived before Calcutta July 11th.

Mr. Judson determined to take a house at Serampore, that place being considered more healthy than Calcutta. He hoped that by spending a considerable time there, the health of all would be benefited; but owing to variable weather little good was gained.

In consequence, therefore, of the advice of physicians, he determined, if possible, to go to the Isle of France. He accordingly made several inquiries concerning vessels bound for Port Louis. At this juncture Captain Hamlin, of the ship Ramsay, with whom Mr. Judson had become acquainted some time previously at Maulmain, called and tendered a passage for himself and family to the Isle of France and thence to their home, with the assurance that it should not cost more than a direct passage. This proposal was regarded as a "providential mercy," and accepted.

While waiting the time appointed for the sailing of the Ramsay, and preparing for the voyage, a new affliction fell on Mr. Judson and his wife. Their youngest child, Henry, was taken from them by death. In his correspondence Mr. Judson thus refers to this event, in a letter written in the beginning of August, 1841: "His old complaint, which had never been effectually removed, came on with fearful violence, and he died in convulsions on the 30th ult. The agony of witness-

ing the dying struggles of a beloved child and beholding the last imploring looks, unable to afford the smallest relief, none can know but a bereaved parent. Mrs. Judson and myself have frequently endured this fiery trial, and now, with bleeding hearts, we must turn away from the grave of dear Henry and pursue our melancholy way in hope that the life of the mother and the remaining children may yet be spared."

The sad offices of making preparation for the burial of their child were performed by the parents. A grave was found for him in the mission-ground at Serampore, rendered blessed to the churches of Christ by having within it the precious dust of Carey, Marshman, and Ward. The funeral services were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Mack, of the English Baptist Mission.

Mr. Judson's hopes concerning the voyage he contemplated, and the state of his health, are unfolded in the letter which contained the news of the death of his child. "We expect to leave this in a few days, and hope to be in Maulmain by the end of October. And may God bless the double voyage before us, and the intervening residence of a few weeks at the Isle of France, to our recovery to health, that we may resume our work with renewed vigor, and devote the remnant of our spared lives to the service of Christ among the Burmans. My own health is pretty good, except that my lungs have never recovered their natural soundness and strength, and I am obliged to use them with great care in public speaking. In common conversation I have not the smallest inconvenience, and this is a great mercy, considering the state to which I was once reduced. I never realized what a great privilege it is to be able to use the voice for Christ until I was deprived of it; and now, when I would fain break out

as usual, the weakness of the flesh does not second the willingness of the spirit. I can still say, 'Well, it is a mercy undeserved to be able to go thus far;' and one is more willing also to be disabled when there are others ready to carry on the work. I esteem it the crowning mercy of my life, that not only the chief ends I contemplated, on becoming a missionary, are attained, but I am allowed to see competent, faithful, and affectionate successors actually engaged in the work. In their hands I am happy to leave it, or, rather, in the hands of Christ, who carried it on before we were born, and while we were in arms against him, and will carry it on more gloriously when we repose in the grave and in paradise. Glory be to Him alone."

The Ramsay was got ready for sea August 16th, on which day our missionary and his wife, with their surviving children, went on board. On the voyage they knew considerable of the perils of the deep. At the same time the power of God was manifest in the conversion of souls. Although Mr. Judson counsels missionary students not to be "ravenous" to do good on board ship, yet, with a pious captain, and a number to whom he might be useful, it was not possible for him to cease his efforts to do good because he was at sea. His labors were honored of God in the conversion of souls. Several of the crew, it is believed, were brought to Christ, while there was a general improvement in manners. The voyage had a salutary effect on the health of Mrs. Judson and family.

The Ramsay reached the Isle of France October 1st, 1841. Again our missionary walked the same strand to which he was driven by the intolerance of the East India Company some twenty-nine years before. We can not suppose it possible that he should spend a

month there without dwelling on the way in which God had led him. Personally he had known suffering and sorrow. Of the most poignant of these the death-prison at Ava and the hopia tree at Amherst could testify. He had known days of weariness in travel and study, of personal affliction, and domestic loneliness. But yet how much was there in the review of the intervening years to fill his soul with satisfaction. His "beloved Ann" exclaimed, in their previous sojourn there, "Oh, when will our wanderings cease!" and it seemed probable that he would not be permitted to labor in the East. But now he could testify that a great door and effectual had been opened to him. When there before, his change in denominational sentiments caused him to be in doubt of support. Now, he could testify that a large denomination had felt the importance of missions, and was continually advancing in its disposition to aid the prosecution of his great work. A language to which thirty years before he was a stranger, had been subdued for the service of Christianity, and in his Burmese Bible he beheld a work which would speak for the eternal God till Boodhism shall lack both priests and worshipers. The Taling and Karen dialects had been reduced to writing, and, having been consecrated by transcripts of the oracles of God, were assured of continuance to uncounted generations. The preaching of the Gospel had been in demonstration and power; and tracts, fraught with immortal truths, had exerted a penetrating and refining influence in cities which no Christian had ever seen, and wildernesses which, at the commencement of the century, no American had ever trod. Within thirty years a solitary couple composed the only church beyond the Ganges, and there was no

reason to believe that any shared with them a good hope through grace of eternal life. Now, more than fifteen hundred persons were in church membership, and not a few had been called to the church in heaven. Now, from his native land, about thirty laborers, male and female, were engaged in the great work of evangelization in the field in which he was their pioneer, while numerous native preachers were engaged in labors of love for their own countrymen. To translate the Bible into the tongue of a heathen people, and gather a church of a hundred members, had once been all that Mr. Judson hoped for, and sometimes more than his faith had grasped. Much more than this God had permitted him to accomplish. Wordsworth has said:

> "Man is dear to man; the poorest poor
> Long for some moments in a weary life
> When they can know and feel that they have been
> Themselves the fathers and the dealers out
> Of some small blessings—have been kind to such
> As needed kindness—for this single cause,
> That we have, all of us, one human heart."

In this light the heart of the missionary, humble as he was in mind, must have known no small joy when he thought of what the Lord had done by him among the heathen. Well might he have exclaimed, "What hath God wrought!"

The visit to the Isle of France proved beneficial to Mrs. Judson. All the children, with the exception of the eldest, Adoniram, improved greatly in health. Though serious apprehensions were entertained with regard to him, Mr. Judson felt justified in prosecuting his voyage to Maulmain, hoping that a further trial of the sea might promote the well-being of all, as well as restore them to their home. They again set sail in the Ramsay, November 1st. They arrived at Maulmain

on the 10th of the following month, and though the eldest son continued subject to relapses, yet all were greatly benefited by the voyage.

The mind of Captain Hamlin, with whom this voyage was made, had been for some time unsettled on the subject of infant baptism, and intercourse with Mr. Judson so far confirmed his suspicions of its unscripturalness, that on the first Lord's day after his arrival, he renounced the observance to which he had been subjected in his youth, and was "buried with Christ" in the Maulmain baptistery. He testified his respect for him by refusing to receive any compensation for the voyages Mr. Judson and his family had taken. If the good deeds of Christian men should, like those of the Mary who anointed the Saviour, have their "memorial," the munificence of this Scotch captain to the American missionary ought not to be forgotten.

After his return to Maulmain, Mr. Judson endeavored to resume his pulpit duties, but early in 1842 the disease of his throat compelled him to discontinue public speaking. Happily, in a short time, he so far recovered as to be able to preach once on the Lord's day, and to conduct the evening worship in the week alternately with other missionaries.

In May, 1842, Mr. Judson addressed himself to the task of compiling a Burman dictionary. For this, as we have seen, he made some preparation in the previous year; but when writing to Boston, in July, 1843, he spoke of it as a work which he had resolved and re-resolved never to touch. "But," he added, "it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps. The board and my brethren repeatedly urged me to prepare a dictionary, the one printed in 1826 being exceedingly imperfect; and as Burmah continued shut against our

labors, and there were several missionaries in this place, I concluded that I could not do better than to comply."

When the work was once commenced, the enthusiasm which marked him in all his pursuits was soon conspicuous, as is seen by the following extract from the letter from which we have quoted above: "We are apt to magnify the importance of any undertaking in which we are warmly engaged. Perhaps it is from the influence of that principle, that, notwithstanding my long-cherished aversion to the work, I have come to think it very important; and that, having seen the accomplishment of two objects on which I set my heart when I first came out to the East—the establishment of a church of converted natives, and the translation of the Bible into their language—I now beguile my daily toil with the prospect of compassing a third, which may be compared to a causeway, designed to facilitate the transmission of all knowledge, religious and scientific, from one people to the other."

The plan on which he finally concluded to form this dictionary is thus described: "It was my first intention to make a single work, Burmese and English; but as I proceeded, I discovered many reasons for constructing a double work, in two parts, the first English and Burmese, the second Burmese and English. I hope, by daily, uninterrupted labor, to have the whole ready for the press by the end of 1845. Not, indeed, that I count on living so long. Above thirty years spent in a tropical climate—to-day is the twenty-ninth anniversary of my arrival in Burmah—leaves but little ground to build future plans upon. But I feel it my duty to plod on, while daylight shall last, looking out for the night, and ready to bequeath both the plodding and the profit to

any brother who shall be willing to carry on and complete the work, when I shall have obtained my discharge."

In the engrossment of this work, as well in his translation and revision, his life was necessarily barren of incident, and it was to show the reason of "apparent delinquencies" in the matter of communication to the board that he wrote the letter referred to above: "I never think," he writes, "without some uneasiness, of the infrequency of my communications to the board; and if I had not an apology at hand, I should feel self-condemned. A person employed in direct missionary work among the natives, especially if his employ is somewhat itinerant, can easily make long and interesting journals. The first epithet, at least, may be applied to some of my earlier communications. But it has been my lot, for many years past, to spend most of my time over the study table; and my itinerating has scarcely extended beyond the limits of my morning walks and the precincts of the mission inclosure."

The "daily, uninterrupted labor" of which Mr. Judson speaks was continued when affliction or other necessary causes did not interfere through the year 1844. He was cheered during this period by the apparent growth of grace of the church at Maulmain, and by the triumphs of the Gospel in surrounding regions.

In the commencement of the year 1845, aggravated symptoms of Mrs. Judson's former complaint appeared, and in April Mr. Judson was forced to believe that a voyage to a more northern climate was indispensable to her recovery. He thus wrote concerning her case to the Rev. Solomon Peck, Corresponding Secretary of the American Baptist Board: "The hand of God is heavy upon me. The complaint to which Mrs. Judson

is subject has become so violent, that it is the unanimous opinion of all the medical men, and, indeed, of all our friends, that nothing but a voyage beyond the tropics can possibly protract her life beyond the period of a few weeks, but that such a voyage will, in all probability, insure her recovery. All medical skill has been exhausted. She has spent six weeks with our commissioner and his lady in a trip down the coast, touching at Tavoy and Mergui, and returned weaker and nearer the grave than when she set out. She is willing to die, and I hope I am willing to see her die, if it be the Divine will; but though my wife, it is no more than truth to say that there is scarcely an individual foreigner now alive who speaks and writes the Burmese tongue so acceptably as she does; and I feel that an effort ought to be made to save her life. I have long fought against the necessity of accompanying her; but she is now so desperately weak, and almost helpless, that all say it would be nothing but savage inhumanity to send her off alone."

The voyage involved another trial, as it became necessary for definite plans to be formed concerning the children. Of these Mr. Judson thus speaks: "The three younger children—the youngest but three months and a half old—we must leave behind us, casting them, as it were, on the waters, in the hope of finding them after many days. The three elder, Abby Ann, Adoniram, and Elnathan, we take with us, to leave in their parents' native land. These rendings of parental ties are more severe, and wring out bitterer tears from the heart's core, than any can possibly conceive who have never felt the wrench. But I hope I can say with truth that I love Christ above all; and I am striving, in the strength of my weak faith, to gird up my mind

to face and welcome all his appointments. And I am much helped to bear these trials, by the advice and encouragement of all my dear brethren and sisters of the mission."

"It is another great trial," he writes, "to leave my dear church and people. I never knew till now how much I loved them, and how much they loved me.

> 'And 'tis to love, our farewells owe
> All their emphasis of woe.'

"But I leave them in the hands of my dear brethren, and there are no persons in the world to whom I should be so willing to commit so dear a charge."

Most men, under the circumstances, would have been prepared to abandon their work for the time; but our missionary, in the exercise of all possible forethought, endeavored to provide for its continuance. The following exhibits his feelings and plans concerning it while on the voyage and in his native land;

"Another great trial, not so much as it regards feeling as it regards the anticipated result of long-protracted labor, is the interruption which the heavy work of the Burmese dictionary, in which I have been engaged for two or three years, must sustain; and such is the state of my manuscripts, that if I should die before this work is completed, or at least carried forward to a much more advanced stage, all my previous labor would be nearly or quite lost. But I am endeavoring to obviate this difficulty in some degree, by taking with me my two assistants in that department, whose hearts God has graciously inclined to leave their families and accompany me. They are both Christians—the one a settled character, a convert of long standing, formerly a government writer in Rangoon; the other

a nephew of the late premier of the court of Ava, a person of noble extraction, and though not a tried Christian, I hope a sincere one. And it is my purpose to devote some hours every day, whether on the sea or land, to the work mentioned. I shall be induced to persevere in this purpose while in America, from the fact that I am unable to travel about the country as an agent, and preach in the English language. The course that I have uniformly pursued, ever since I became a missionary, has been rather peculiar. In order to become an acceptable and eloquent preacher in a foreign language, I deliberately abjured my own. When I crossed the river, I burned my ships. For thirty-two years I have scarcely entered an English pulpit, or made a speech in that language. Whether I have pursued the wisest course, I will not contend; and how far I have attained the object aimed at, I must leave for others to say. But whether right or wrong, the course I have taken can not be retraced. The burned ships can not now be reconstructed. From long desuetude, I can scarcely put three sentences together in the English language.* I must therefore beg the board to allow me a quiet corner, where I can pursue my work with my assistants, undisturbed and unknown.

"This request I am induced to urge from the further consideration, that my voice, though greatly recovered from the affection of the lungs, which laid me aside from preaching nearly a year, is still so weak that it can only fill a small room; and whenever I attempt to raise it above the conversational tone, the

* Of course the reader will understand this to apply to oral addresses.

weak place gives way, and I am quite broken down again for several weeks. I hope, therefore, that no one will try to persuade me to be guilty of such imprudence while in America; but since there are thousands of preachers in English, and only five or six Burmese preachers in the whole world, I may be allowed to hoard up the remnant of my breath and lungs for the country where they are most needed."

Mr. and Mrs. Judson embarked from Amherst, April 26th, in the ship Paragon, bound for London, taking with them the children and native assistants, as previously proposed. In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Babcock, which is headed as follows, "On board the Paragon, bound to London, off Amherst, April 27, 1845," he writes: "I am ready to say, 'Wo is me! that I should ever date a letter after this fashion.' But Mrs. Judson is at the point of death, of a complaint which, unless it has advanced too far, within the last fortnight, is curable only by a voyage to a congenial clime. I intended at first to let her go alone, but she became so weak and helpless, that it was thought necessary by all the brethren and friends that I should accompany her." Thus deeply and painfully was he impressed by the thought of leaving his station.

During the first month his time was much occupied in taking care of Mrs. Judson; but having his assistants with him, he endeavored to pursue his lexicographical labors. After they had been at sea some six weeks, Mrs. Judson's health appeared so greatly improved that both herself and husband entertained sanguine hopes of her speedy recovery. These hopes each day confirmed. After crossing the line, the ship sprung a leak, which caused the captain to resolve to put into the Isle of France. The decided convalescence of Mrs.

Judson caused them to regard this as providential, as it seemed no longer necessary for Mr. Judson to accompany her, and afforded an opportunity for him to return to Maulmain. To both the separation was painful, but they recognized the truth an apostle has taught: "The time is short; it remaineth that both they that have wives be as though they had none," and believed it "clearly" a "duty" to make the sacrifice. After the resolution was made to adopt this course, while they were yet at sea, Mrs. Judson penned the following lines. It will be seen they are addressed to her husband; they proved the last she was permitted to write:

We part on this green islet, love—
Thou for the eastern main,
I for the setting sun, love,
O, when to meet again!

My heart is sad for thee, love,
For lone thy way will be;
And oft thy tears will fall, love,
For thy children and for me.

The music of thy daughter's voice
Thou'lt miss for many a year,
And the merry shout of thine elder boys
Thou'lt list in vain to hear.

When we knelt to see our Henry die,
And heard his last, faint moan,
Each wiped the tear from other's eye:
Now each must weep alone.

My tears fall fast for thee, love:
How can I say farewell!
But go; thy God be with thee, love,
Thy heart's deep grief to quell.

Yet my spirit clings to thine, love;
Thy soul remains with me,

And oft we'll hold communion sweet,
O'er the dark and distant sea.

And who can paint our mutual joy,
When, all our wanderings o'er,
We both shall clasp our infants three,
At home, on Burmah's shore!

But higher shall our raptures glow,
On yon celestial plain,
When the lov'd and parted here below
Meet, ne'er to part again.

Then gird thine armor on, love,
Nor faint thou by the way,
'Till Boodh shall fall, and Burmah's sons
Shall own Messiah's sway.

After the Paragon reached Port Louis, the missionary and his wife prepared to separate. A vessel was found bound for Maulmain, in which Mr. Judson sent back his assistants, proposing to follow after Mrs. Judson should re-embark. While waiting for the Paragon to repair, an opportunity offered for her to take passage in the Sophia Walker, bound for Boston. This presented considerable advantages over the other ship, as it promised a shorter voyage, and with less inconvenience, especially to a lady and an invalid, than the change of vessels which must necessarily have been made in London. It was, therefore, gladly accepted, and afforded additional encouragement for Mr. Judson's return to Maulmain.

The missionary and his wife were, however, only to be separated by the hand of death. Shortly before the time appointed for her embarkation she experienced a relapse, which so greatly reduced her that her husband was satisfied that no course remained but for him to accompany her. She was carried on board

ship, and they finally sailed July 25th. After some time favorable indications appeared, but they proved illusory. The details relating to her last days are thus given by Mr. Judson: "On our passage homeward, as the strength of Mrs. Judson gradually declined, I expected to be under the painful necessity of burying her in the sea. But it was so ordered by divine Providence, that, when the indications of approaching death had become strongly marked, the ship came to anchor in the port of St. Helena. For three days she continued to sink rapidly, though her bodily sufferings were not very severe. Her mind became liable to wander, but a single word was sufficient to recall and steady her recollection. On the evening of the 31st of August she appeared to be drawing near to the end of her pilgrimage. The children took leave of her and retired to rest. I sat alone by the side of her bed during the hours of the night, endeavoring to administer relief to the distressed body, and consolation to the departing soul. At two o'clock in the morning, wishing to obtain one more token of recognition, I roused her attention, and said, 'Do you still love the Saviour?' 'Oh, yes,' she replied, 'I ever love the Lord Jesus Christ.' I said again, 'Do you still love me?' She replied in the affirmative, by a peculiar expression of her own. 'Then give me one more kiss;' and we exchanged that token of love for the last time. Another hour passed, life continued to recede, and she ceased to breathe. For a moment I traced her upward flight, and thought of the wonders which were opening to her view. I then closed her sightless eyes, dressed her, for the last time, in the drapery of death, and being quite exhausted with many sleepless nights, I threw myself down and slept.

On awaking in the morning, I saw the children standing and weeping around the body of their dear mother, then, for the first time, inattentive to their cries."

Thus was our missionary a second time a widower. In a biographical sketch which he afterward wrote, he presents, as reasons for bearing testimony to her various attainments, labors, and worth, "the fact that her own unobtrusive and retiring disposition always led her to seek the shade, as well as from the fact that she was often brought into comparison with one whose life and character were uncommonly interesting and brilliant. The memoir of his first beloved wife has been long before the public. It is, therefore, most gratifying to his feelings to be able to say, in truth, that the subject of this notice was, in every point of natural and moral excellence, the worthy successor of Ann H. Judson. He constantly thanks God that he has been blessed with two of the best of wives; he deeply feels that he has not improved these rich blessings as he ought, and it is most painful to reflect that, from the peculiar pressure of the missionary life, he has sometimes failed to treat those dear beings with that consideration, attention, and kindness which their situation in a foreign heathen land ever demanded."

In choosing a wife, her first husband, Mr. Boardman, said he sought "for piety, for talents, for a cultivated mind, for a gentle and affectionate heart." The testimony given by the second shows that these excellences were possessed by her to a remarkable degree.

As stated in Mr. Judson's account of her last hours, she died in the harbor of St. Helena. With the morning light all the shipping showed their

colors at half-mast; and intelligence having been communicated to the Rev. Mr. Bertram, he promptly went on board to visit the bereaved husband. He gives the following record: "With a heart full of painful sympathy I hastened to the vessel. As the boat in which I was neared the floating house of death, I perceived several of the crew approaching the gangway. Deep sorrow was depicted on their countenances. The captain received me with a welcome, and, after a few touching hints, conducted me to the cabin, where I was for the first time introduced to Mr. Judson. He held out his hand, but for a moment his heart was too full for articulation. He looked pale and careworn. The bitter tears flowed down his cheeks in rapid succession, moistening his lips, as if seeking to find their way back again into the heart of sorrow from whence they flowed. Such a touching scene I never witnessed before. With him stood his three small children, weeping and refusing to be comforted, because she whom they so dearly loved was not. Dr. Judson soon regained his self-possession. He spoke to his afflicted children in the sweetest manner, and in the most consoling language a Christian father's lips could utter, and then turning to me, he said, 'Oh, sir, she died in the Lord, so peacefully. I asked her, but a little before she died, if she loved the Saviour, and could trust her soul into his hands. She answered, "Yes, O yes." Come, Mr. Bertram; will you look at my love? she is just like herself, lovely even in death.' He led the way into the state room, where lay the cold remains in which once dwelt the soul of her who had given and devoted to the Saviour's cause her life, her all. Pleasant she was, indeed, even in death. A sweet smile of love seemed to rest on her

countenance, as if heavenly grace had shaped it there. Mr. Judson stood at her head, and the children around her, weeping and sobbing. He kissed her cold forehead again and again, embalming it with tears. After a few moments he said, 'My love suffered much before she died, but never murmured. Her sufferings are over. Yes, she is now in heaven. I did all for her myself—dressed and laid her out myself. This was her own request. To me it was a painful duty, but God sustained me.'"

A coffin having been obtained from the shore, and necessary arrangements made, the funeral took place in the afternoon. Preliminary services having been conducted on the deck by Mr. Bertram, he writes:

"We again visited the solemn state room to take a last look of the departed wife and missionary. The bereaved husband and weeping children fastened their eyes upon the loved remains, as if they could have looked for ever. Weeping, kiss after kiss was imprinted on the cold forehead. The last look was taken, the last kiss imparted, and then all was hid from mortal vision until the morning of the resurrection. The coffin was removed to the boat which was to convey it on shore. Other boats were connected with this, so arranged as to form a funeral procession—three going ahead, towing the one which contained the corpse, and moving forward with the heavy beatings of their oars, and another followed, in which were Mr. Judson and the three children, with the captain of the ship and myself as chief mourners. Our Christian brethren and sisters were in a goodly number, with Mr. Carrol, the American Consul, and his family, and some other of his friends, already waiting on the shore to join the funeral procession. The body was

then transferred from the boat to the bier, which was carried by a number of seamen. The pall-bearers we selected from among our Christian sisters. They were four in number and chief women, viz., Mrs. Captain O'Connor, of the East India Company; Mrs. Janisch, widow of the late Dutch Consul; Mrs. Torbett, of Napoleon's tomb; Mrs. Carrol, American Consul's lady. Dr. Judson and myself walked first, leading one of the children; the captain next came, leading the other two; the American Consul followed, with his friends; then our Christian brethren and sisters, two and two; the whole numbering about one hundred persons. It is nearly half a mile from the landing to the burial-ground, the way to which lies through the town. The inhabitants paid their respects by closing their shops. The street was considerably lined on either side with spectators, who all appeared to manifest a mournful sympathy with Mr. Judson and the dear children.

"On arriving at the grave, the Episcopal clergyman read the Burial Service of the Church of England. The body was then submitted to its mother dust. Our Christian brethren stood around the grave, and sung a solemn hymn, selected for the occasion. During this service, as Mr. Judson stood supported by my arm, I felt his animal frame frequently ready to give way, particularly toward the last, when the coffin was about to be lowered into the grave. I could see him heaving his heart to God for power from on high to strengthen him. God heard his prayer and held him up."

The remains of Mrs. Judson were laid "in one of the choicest spots of the burying-ground; a banyan tree spreading its branches over it, as if to guard

the precious treasure which lay interred beneath its shades."

In speaking of this place of sepulcher Mr. Judson remarked: "They had prepared the grave in a beautiful, shady spot, contiguous to the grave of Mrs. Chater, a missionary from Ceylon, who had died in similar circumstances on her passage home. There I saw her safely deposited, and in the language of prayer, which we had often presented together at the throne of grace, I blessed God that her body had attained the repose of the grave, and her spirit the repose of paradise."

It is worthy of note also, that the lady beside whose grave Mrs. Judson was laid was the wife of the missionary who first labored in Rangoon. Thus consorts of the first English and first American missionaries to Burmah sleep beside each other.

The Christian residents of St. Helena manifested their sympathy in very commendable form with respect to the funeral. After the interment they assembled and offered earnest prayer on behalf of the missionary, and when in the evening the intelligence was received that the Sophia Walker was again ready for sea, "they accompanied him to the ship, sorrowing," Mr. Bertram says, "with double sorrow that we should see his face no more."

Immediately that Mr. Judson reached the ship she weighed anchor, and "on the following morning no vestige of the island was discernible in the distant horizon."

The grief which filled the heart of the missionary, and the consolation which sustained him as he pursued his way, his own words best describe: "For a few days, in the solitude of my cabin, with my poor children crying around me, I could not help abandon-

ing myself to heart-breaking sorrow. But the promises of the Gospel came to my aid, and faith stretched her view to the bright world of eternal life, and anticipated a happy meeting with those beloved beings whose bodies are mouldering at Amherst and St. Helena."

Six weeks after leaving St. Helena, he approached the coast of New England. More than thirty-three years had passed since last he gazed upon it. With the chief events of his history in the interval the reader is acquainted.

Chapter Sixteenth.

THE FURLOUGH.

"And they glorified God in me."—Gal. i. 24.

MR. JUDSON landed in Boston on Wednesday, October 15th, 1845. The news of his arrival awakened an unwonted interest. So steadfastly had he refused all invitations to return, that his friends had long before relinquished all hope of seeing him. When, therefore, it was known that he had really reached his native land, a thrill of joy was produced by the intelligence. This was not confined to the denomination with which he was identified; but in it members of every religious community participated, and even those who took no interest in the cause of missions were anxious to behold the Apostle of the Burmese.

The *name* of Judson was familiar to the Christian world. So precious was it esteemed, that not a few had rejoiced to enroll it in the registers of their families; and though parental affection hoped his namesakes might be exempt from like trials, to have them bear a like character was the grand desire their prayers expressed. With many, when supplications were presented for missionaries, whether in the great congregation or in private, though it was unuttered, his name was never unthought of. Bards had delighted to inweave it in their verse. Men, who had founded

seminaries of learning, had sought to connect his name with their institutions, and Christian young men had rejoiced to have their societies bear an appellation which was synonymous in their minds with the highest excellence in missionary character. Yet, though respect had been paid to his name in every conceivable way, he was unknown by face to the churches in America, and even to the board under whose direction he had acted. Of the individuals who knew him in his youth but few remained, and with the exception of the Rev. Dr. Malcom, who had visited him in his Burman home, and a few others whom ill health had compelled to relinquish missionary life, he might have passed those who most admired him unrecognized.

No sooner did those who had been familiar with the events of his career hear of his arrival, than the gratification of beholding him was eagerly sought. The first occasion which was presented for large numbers to see the face of the missionary and manifest their interest in him occurred two days after his arrival. On the evening of that day his friends, though only verbally notified, crowded the large church in Bowdoin Square, Boston, all eager to behold the form and countenance of the veteran warrior returned from the field of his conflicts. A psalm appropriate to the occasion having been read by the Rev. Solomon Peck, and the prayers and thanksgivings of the disciples led by the Rev. Dr. Neale, the Rev. Dr. Sharp addressed Mr. Judson, expressing the deep interest and sympathy felt by the churches concerning him.

"There are some feelings," said Dr. Sharp, "which are too sacred for public utterance. There are sentiments of respect and regard which, when whispered to the ear, or spoken in the privacy of confidential

intercourse, are pleasant and refreshing as the breath of spring, but which lose their fragrance in the atmosphere of a public assembly. Were I to express my own feelings toward yourself—my admiration, my confidence, my gratitude, my regard—I should say many things that in this assembly would seem out of place. I may, however, without violating Christian propriety, speak *in behalf* of the public in the *presence* of the public.

"I may say, without the semblance of flattery or adulation, the denomination have cherished a deep, and affectionate, and grateful interest in your labors. They have wondered at your steady and unfaltering perseverance; they have admired your disinterested and self-denying course; and they have tenderly sympathized with you, and prayed for you, when they heard of your personal sufferings, your imprisonment, and loss of personal liberty, and when they have heard of those greater losses, to which, in the death of loved and cherished ones, you have been subjected. And they have rejoiced with you, not, indeed, that *all* your work was done, but that a glorious work was done, when, in humble prostration before the beneficent Author of revelation, you devoutly thanked him that you had completed the translation of the Holy Scriptures in the Burman language. That was a memorable day, not only in the history of your own life, but in the history of missions.

"We can only pray, dear brother, that, after a still more extended and critical knowledge of the Burman language, the result of patient and laborious study and research, your life may be prolonged to revise and amend your translation of those soul-sanctifying and soul-comforting truths which tell with wondrous power

in any language in which a version of them is given. Your prosecution of that other great work, to which your mind, and pen, and days are given—a Burman dictionary—at the completion of which you may well rest from your labors, will aid you greatly in giving your last correcting touch to the Burman Scriptures. Our prayer will be, in submission to God's will, that you may live until you have sent out to the world the volumes which will not only shed their radiant light on the Scriptures, but will quicken and elevate the common mind of India.

"And now, dear brother, withdrawn as you have been, by an afflictive dispensation of Providence, from your chosen and loved labors, allow me to say, in behalf of your ministering brethren, and other brethren and friends, We welcome you to your native land; we welcome you to the scenes of your early and manly youth; we welcome you to our worshiping assemblies; we welcome you to our hearts. As the representative of the ministers and private Christians present, I give to you this hand of cordial welcome, of sympathy, of approbation, and of love; and I believe, could all our denomination be collected in one vast assembly, they would request and empower some one to perform this service for them; or, rather, each one would prefer to give this significant token of love, and respect, and good wishes for himself. Were it possible, and could your strength hold out, and your hand bear the grasp and the cordial shake of so many, I could wish that every one who loves the Bible and missions might be his own representative, and give to you, as I do, the hand of an honest, unchanging, and cordial good-will."

After some further remarks from Dr. Sharp to the

congregation, Mr. Judson rose before the audience; the affection of his throat rendering him incapable of being heard, the Rev. Dr. Hague appeared beside him to repeat his remarks to the audience; they were as follows, as reported in the *Christian Reflector:*

"Through the mercy of God I am permitted to stand before you here, this evening, a pensioner of your bounty. I desire to thank you for all your sympathy and aid, and I pray God's blessing to rest upon you. * * * * All that has been done in Burmah has been done by the churches, through the feeble and unworthy instrumentality of myself and my brethren. * * * * It is one of the severest trials of my life not to be able to lift up my voice, and give free utterance to my feelings before this congregation; but repeated trials have assured me that I can not safely attempt it. And I am much influenced by the circumstance that it was a request of my wife, in her dying hour, that I would not address public meetings on my arrival. * * * I will only add, that I beg your prayers for the brethren I have left in Burmah—for the feeble churches we have planted there, and that the good work of God's grace may go on until the world shall be filled with his glory."

On the conclusion of these remarks, Mr. Hague continued in an address on the events connected with the history of the missions. While he was speaking, "an incident of remarkable character heightened the effect of the scene. A stranger urged his way up the aisle, and, ascending the pulpit, was warmly embraced by Mr. Judson. Who could it be? What familiar friend had the veteran missionary found in this land of strangers? It was the Rev. Samuel Nott, jr., one of the

devoted band of young men with whom Mr. Judson had been associated in his missionary consecration. Returned from the foreign field, and now pastor of a Congregational church in Wareham, Massachusetts, he had heard of Mr. Judson's arrival, and had hastened to Boston to welcome him to his native land, and to kindle anew the unextinguished love of years long gone by." After a touching address from Mr. Nott, followed by a few remarks from the Rev. Mr. Bingham of the Sandwich Islands, the Rev. Nathaniel Colver offered prayer, and the assembly was dismissed. Many, however, pressed forward, anxious to grasp the hand of the missionary, and personally to express to him their joy.

The reception given in Boston was a "fair example of what awaited him in other places; it was but the first touch of a sympathetic cord whose vibrations were felt throughout the whole country." Although it was his earnest wish to avoid public assemblies, and, in consideration of the importance of repose to him personally, it was the desire of the board that his wishes should be met; it was, however, found impossible. Throughout the Union there was a desire expressed to see him, which was so earnest that there seemed no other course open than for him to visit some, at least, of the chief cities. The Christians of New York, Providence, Albany, Utica, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Richmond, and other places, were therefore favored to behold him. It has been well said that "his journey was a triumphal march." The floodgates of many hearts which would have been drawn years before, had opportunity occurred, could no longer be kept down, and it would have indicated a self-command by no means enviable if the treasured emotions

of years had still been repressed. It was meet that the ambassador of the Cross, whose zeal and heroism had been so resplendently conspicuous for a whole generation, should know, in returning to his native land, that he was highly esteemed in love for his works' sake.

A few days after his arrival he repaired to some of the spots associated with his early days. One of the first of these was Salem, where he was ordained, and from whence he sailed when he left his native land. Once there, of course he directed his way to the venerable 'Tabernacle.' Though remodeled, the old pew, in which he had been seated with his associates so many years before, still remains. It is no wonder that as the memories of the past sprang up vividly in his mind that we should have to record that he wept aloud.

From Salem Mr. Judson went to Bradford, a favorite town on account of its being the scene of the memorable associational meeting of 1810, and more especially because it was the residence, previous to marriage, of his first beloved wife. In this once familiar spot he was made the more sensible of the losses of preceding years. His case was no exception to the idea a poet has expressed:

> "When those who so long have been absent return
> To the scenes of their childhood, it is but to mourn;
> Wounds opened afresh, that time nearly had healed,
> And the ills of a life at once glance are revealed."

The only near relation who remained to Mr. Judson was his sister. Every place he visited witnessed of death and change. Of the places familiar to his youth, Plymouth bore externally the least evidence of transformation. Here, some time after his arrival, as he

took his station at a favorite window, in the house where he spent his childhood, and looked toward the harbor and light-house, he exclaimed: "This is the most natural scene I have looked on in all America."

In November, 1845, he visited Providence, a place endeared to him as the seat of the institution from which he graduated. Here he spent a Lord's day. At a united missionary meeting, held in the evening, he addressed a few remarks to the congregation through the Rev. Dr. Caswell. In the conclusion of his address on this occasion he is reported to have said that, "the greatest favor he could ask of his Christian friends was, to permit him to return as soon as possible to his home on the banks of the Salwen; those banks from which he had led so many happy converts into the baptismal waters; those banks which had so often resounded with the notes of a baptismal song, composed by her whom he had so lately lost, who had now left her task of making hymns on earth for the higher and better one of singing with angels and ransomed spirits that 'new song of Moses and the Lamb.'"

On the day following, accompanied by the president, the Rev. Dr. Wayland, he visited Brown University, on which occasion the students generally were introduced to him. Special meetings were held of the Philermenian Society, of which he had been a member when an undergraduate, and also of the Society for Missionary Inquiry. His interview with the latter society is thus described:

"On the table before him lay the 'Holy Bible in Burmese.' He held in his hands the book containing the constitution and the names of members, some of whom are now in the missionary field. He examined it for a moment, and then in a low voice, but with a

most impressive manner, expressed himself in language very nearly as follows:

"'My dear young Brethren: There is one, and only one, right path for every man—for each one of you to follow, in order to insure the full approbation of God, and the greatest success in your efforts to do good and glorify him. Seek that one path. There may, indeed, be some other path, not very far from the right one, in which you can accomplish something for the cause of truth; but nowhere can you do so much as in that one. Do not, my brethren, content yourselves with any thing short of finding *the one* path marked out for you by the will of Heaven; and when you have found it, walk in it, straight forward, and let nothing turn you aside.

"'But to find that path: that is the question, and one not to be settled without diligent inquiry. To determine this point in your own case, in the first place, try all your schemes by the unerring Word of God. Reject, at once, whatever has not a firm basis there. Let this blessed Word be to you the golden lamp of heaven, hung out to guide you into and along the pathway of duty, and do not for a moment turn your backs upon this glorious light, to follow the feeble tapers of your own lighting. But you are not to suppose that this of itself, independent of all other considerations, will decide you to your particular sphere of labor. Next, then, look for the developments of God's providence in your own characters, and in the circumstances in which you are placed. Watch for the expression of his will in the opinions and advice of your most pious and judicious brethren respecting you, and by all means humbly and earnestly pray for guidance from above.

"'Finally, seek for a deep and abiding conviction of duty. Do not act from the impulse of mere feeling. There is great danger here. Feelings often mislead us. Good men sometimes mistake transient impressions, or the whisperings of their own vain imaginations, for a sense of duty, and follow some Satanic influence, instead of the Spirit of truth. You must be very cautious here. I well recollect when I and other young men stood before the association in Bradford, to petition that body for aid in prosecuting our missionary scheme. Inquiry was made respecting the motives which prompted us to engage in this work. Samuel J. Mills replied, with great emphasis, "I feel myself impelled to go—*yea, woe is me if I preach not the Gospel to the heathen.*" It is this settled conviction of duty to Christ, a feeling that necessity is laid upon him, and this only, that will sustain a man under the severe trials and labors of the missionary life. Without this he will soon be discouraged, and faint by the way. But with the assurance that, having humbly submitted himself to the Divine teaching, he has the approval of Christ, he is prepared for any event. With this he can labor; by this he can die. If brought into difficulties, from which there seems no escape, he feels that he has gone thus far in obedience to his Lord's command; that he is doing his Master's work; and that, whatever befalls him, all is well: it is the will of Christ.

"'If you can have this unwavering conviction, my dear brethren, that God requires you to go as missionaries to the heathen, go. But do not go without it. It is indispensable to your success. I have known more than one missionary break down for want of this assurance.

"'If it be the will of God, may many of you go,

constrained by the love of Christ, and lead many more to love him; and when our work is done on earth, may we all be raised to heaven, where we shall know more of his love to us, and love him more.'

"A short but fervent prayer by Dr. Judson closed this deeply interesting interview; and I doubt not all present felt, as the man of God turned to depart, what it was to live and labor for Jesus Christ, as they never felt it before."

These visits are doubtless associated in the minds of those who were present with the choicest memories of life.

A special meeting of the body usually known as the Baptist Triennial Convention was held November 19th, in the Baptist Tabernacle in the city of New York. The call for this meeting was issued a short time before Mr. Judson's arrival, it having been deemed necessary that the body should assemble, from the fact of a widely-entertained conviction that changes were needed in its constitution; and also on account of the formation of a new missionary organization at the South. A painful sense of the sundering of ties, which had bound the denomination in harmonious action for thirty years, and the pressure of a heavy debt, weighed on the minds of those interested. The arrival of Mr. Judson in time for this important meeting was therefore hailed by many with thanksgiving. It was believed that his presence and counsels would prove invaluable in the solution of the perplexities of this critical time. This opinion, subsequent events fully justified.

Upon the opening of this convention, after the roll had been called, a solemn pause ensued. It was soon broken, and the familiar tones of the Rev. Dr. Cone's voice filled every corner of the house. In this speech,

SCENE AT THE CONVENTION.

"I present to you Jesus Christ's Man"

brief, but lastingly impressive, he referred to the occasion when, first in time of war, and in Baltimore, then a beleagured city, he heard from Luther Rice the account of the conversion of himself and Mr. Judson to the principles of the Baptist denomination, and his appeals for aid for the missionary convention. Every eye was then fixed on the speaker as he led the vast throng to contemplate the pleasing contrast between a call to aid in blessing the world and the trumpet's call to battle, and the feebleness of the first endeavors made for missionary purposes with the prosperity which had subsequently rested upon the convention. The following resolutions were moved by the venerable speaker:

"*Resolved*, That this convention regard as a special occasion of gratitude to the God of all grace, that he has so long preserved the life of our senior missionary, the Rev. Adoniram Judson, D.D., and has strengthened him to perform services of inestimable value to the perishing heathen.

"*Resolved*, That the president be requested to express to our brother Judson assurances of the pleasure with which we welcome him to his native land, and of our heartfelt sympathy with him in the painful circumstances which have withdrawn him, as we hope, only for a season from the field of his missionary labors."

These were, of course, unanimously adopted, and the mover of the resolution again arose, and, taking the veteran missionary by the hand, he addressed himself to the president in a single sentence: "I PRESENT TO YOU JESUS CHRIST'S MAN." On this Dr. Wayland addressed Mr. Judson in the following appropriate and impressive terms:

"It is with no ordinary feelings, my beloved brother, that I rise to discharge the duty imposed upon me by

the resolution which you have this moment heard. My own heart assures me that language is inadequate to express the sentiments of your brethren on the present occasion.

"Thirty-three years since, you and a few other servants of the most high God, relying simply upon his promises, left your native land to carry the message of Christ to the heathen. You were the first offering of the American churches to the Gentiles. You went forth amid the sneers of the thoughtless, and with only the cold and reluctant consent of many of your brethren. The general voice declared your undertaking fanatical, and those who cowered under its rebuke drew back from you in alarm. On the voyage your views respecting Christian ordinances became changed, and this change gave rise to the convention now in session before you.

"When at length you arrived in India, more formidable obstacles than those arising from paganism were thrown in your path. The mightiest empire that the world has ever seen forbade every attempt to preach Christ to the countless millions subjected to her sway, and ordered you peremptorily from her shores. Escaping from her power, you took refuge in the Isle of France, and at last, after many perils, arrived at Rangoon, where, out of the reach of Christian power, you were permitted to enter upon your labors of love.

"After years of toil you were able to preach Christ to the Burmans, and men began to inquire after the eternal God. The intolerance of the government then became apparent, and you proceeded to Ava, to plead the cause of toleration before the emperor. Your second attempt was successful, and permission was granted to preach the Gospel in the capital itself. But how

inscrutable are the ways of Providence! Your labors had just commenced when a British army took possession of Rangoon, and you and your fellow-laborer, the late Dr. Price, were cast into a loathsome dungeon, and loaded with chains. For nearly two years you suffered all that barbarian cruelty could inflict; and to the special interposition of God alone is it to be ascribed that your imprisonment was not terminated by a violent death. On you, more than any other missionary of modern times, has been conferred the distinction of suffering for Christ. Your limbs have been galled with fetters, and you have tracked with bleeding feet the burning sands between Ava and Oung-pen-la.

"With the apostle of the Gentiles you may say, 'Henceforth let no man trouble me: I bear in my body the scars of the Lord Jesus.' Yet even here God did not leave you comfortless. He had provided an angel to minister to your wants, and when her errand was accomplished, took her to himself, and the hopia tree marks the spot whence her spirit ascended. From prison and from chains, God, in his own time, delivered you, and made your assistance of special importance in negotiating a treaty of peace between these two nations, one of whom had driven you from her shores, and the other had inflicted upon you every cruelty but death.

"Since this period, the prime of your life has been spent in laboring to bless the people who had so barbarously persecuted you. Almost all the Christian literature in their language has proceeded from your pen; your own hand has given to the nation the oracles of God, and opened to the millions now living, and to those that shall come after them to the end of time, the door of everlasting life. That mysterious Provi-

dence which shut you out from Burmah proper has introduced you to the Karens—a people who seem to have preserved, from remote antiquity, the knowledge of the true God, and who were waiting to receive the message of his Son. To them you, and those who have followed in your footsteps, have made known the Saviour of the world, and they by thousands have flocked to the standard of the Cross.

"After years spent in unremitted toil, the providence of God has brought you to be present with us at this important crisis. We sympathize with you in all the sorrows of your painful voyage. May God sustain you in your sore bereavement, and cause even this mysterious dispensation to work out for you a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

"How changed is the moral aspect of the world since you first entered upon your labors! Then no pagan nation had heard the name of Christ from American lips; at present, churches of Christ, planted by American benevolence, are springing up in almost every heathen nation. The shores of the Mediterranean, the islands of the sea, the thronged cities and the wild jungles of India, are resounding with the high praises of God, in strains first taught by American missionaries. The nation that drove you from her shores has learned to foster the messenger of the Cross with parental solicitude. You return to your native land, whence you were suffered to depart almost without her blessing, and you find that the missionary enterprise has kindled a flame that can never be quenched in the heart of the universal church, and that every Christian and every philanthropist comes forward to tender to you the homage due to the man through whose sufferings, labors, and examples these changes

have, to so great a degree, been effected. In behalf of our brethren, of the whole church of Christ, we welcome you back to the land of your fathers. God grant that your life may long be preserved, and that what you have seen may prove to be but the beginning of blessing to our churches at home and to the heathen abroad."

The few words which Mr. Judson felt able to utter on this occasion were expressive of his acknowledgments of the welcome which he had received, and his earnest hopes that it would be overruled to promote a more faithful discharge of the duties of the missionary life.

In the evening, after a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Sears, Mr. Judson spoke a few words to the congregation, Dr. Cone again acting as reporter. Few who were present will fail to recall the touching terms in which he expressed his desire to look away from the field of his missionary toil, and the infant churches he had been instrumental in rearing in Burmah, to turn his eyes to the purer and better world, to Jesus Christ, who ever liveth at the right hand of God, and to the general assembly and church of the First-born, whose names are written in heaven.

On the second day of the meeting of the convention, the final action was taken, by which it was unanimously resolved, provided the necessary legal charters could be obtained, to conduct the future operations for foreign evangelization under the name of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Thus he, who was the principal cause of its origin, was permitted to be present at the meeting which decreed its transformation.

The debt to which we have alluded amounted to forty thousand dollars. Some portion of this was

pledged conditionally before the meeting. The presence of Mr. Judson was, doubtless, an incentive to free-will offerings, exceeding by some thousands the amount necessary to extinguish the debt.

On the morning of the third day's session of the convention a most deeply affecting incident occurred. On account of the state of the funds, it was thought necessary by the acting board to contemplate the relinquishment of some of the stations. Among those which it was suggested might be abandoned was Arracan. The bare thought of this was a cause of exquisite pain to Mr. Judson, and caused him to exclaim, "Though forbidden to speak by my medical adviser, I must say a few words. I must protest against the abandonment of the Arracan mission." After uttering this sentence his voice sank, and he proceeded in subdued tones to present his reasons; these Dr. Cone repeated to the assembly. A last remark was: "If the convention think my services can be dispensed with in finishing my dictionary, I will go immediately to Arracan; or if God should spare my life"—the thought suggested by the words "spare my life" was too much for Dr. Cone to contemplate, and he paused in relating his remarks, while sobs from the vast throng attested that he was not alone. When able to proceed with the report, the sentence was concluded—"or if God should spare my life to finish my dictionary, I will go there afterward, and labor there, and die, and be buried there." The effect of these words was most thrilling, and led the meeting to adopt the resolution immediately offered by the Rev. Dr. Williams, of New York: "That in the indications of Divine Provdence, as presented by the remarkable harmony and the reviving hopes of the brethren here met, and the

flowing together of all hearts in the baptism of one spirit, this convention find themselves compelled to abandon, for the present, at least, all thought of abandoning or abridging their missionary stations, and that our heavenly Father is summoning us to re-enforce, and even to enlarge our operations, in fuller accordance with the greatness of his promises, and of the world's necessities."

In companies which enjoyed Mr. Judson's presence, his sufferings in prison were frequently a topic of conversation, discourse concerning which he always avoided. On one occasion, at the dinner-table, while attending the sessions of the convention, some observations were made with respect to the scars of the cords with which he was bound when seized by the "spotted face" at Ava. In consequence of the evident desire of the company, the cuffs of his coat were drawn back, while he made the simple observation, as if there was nothing extraordinary about them, "There are the marks." Though so unmoved by the remembrance of barbarous cruelty, he was touched at once by a reference to Christian sympathy. Soon as a lady who sat beside him spoke of the prayers offered in behalf of himself and wife, the new course of thought affected him so deeply that tears ran down his cheeks.

The Lord's day succeeding the convention, Mr. Judson spent in New York, meeting in the morning with the venerable church of which Dr. Cone is pastor; and in the afternoon with the Cannon Street Baptist church, then under the ministry of the Rev. Henry Davis. On both occasions the missionary spoke a few words to the congregations through their pastors.

The reception which he everywhere met indicated

to Mr. Judson's mind a public sentiment in favor of missions which he had not expected to discover. To these he alluded, in the address at Cannon Street church, in refuting the frequently urged plea, that modern missions have been unsuccessful. After speaking of the loneliness of his embarkation in 1812, he said: "Now, when missionaries return to their native land, such is the interest taken in the cause of missions, that the largest houses of worship are crowded with multitudes, anxious to see and to hear them, and they are welcomed by the smiles and greetings of thousands and hundreds of thousands. Does this look as if modern missions were a failure?" There is no doubt that much was said to his praise, both on the platform and in the parlor, that was an occasion of pain to the missionary. The ancient Athenians were not more opposed to renowning than he was; for he was ever anxious that the instrument of good should be forgotten, and the glory rendered to God. Nevertheless, the moral significance of the welcome he received he most gladly recognized.

The last Lord's day in November Mr. Judson spent at Hamilton. The afternoon he devoted to a meeting with the students of Madison University. This interview has been thus described by the Rev. Josiah Hatt, of Hoboken, then a member of the institution:

"After the preliminary services, the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Kendrick arose to introduce Dr. Judson to the audience, taking occasion to remind us of the main points in his eventful life. I think I am correct in saying that this was the last public appearance of that venerable man, who, more than any other individual, perhaps, has contributed to the advancement of ministerial education in the State of New York.

"At the conclusion of this address Dr. Judson whispered a few remarks in the ear of the Rev. Dr. Maginnis for repetition to the students. 'Brethren,' said the veteran, 'look to Jesus. This sight will fill you with the greatest consolation and delight. Look to him on the cross; so great is his love, that if he had a thousand lives he would lay them all down for your redemption. Look to him on the throne; his blessed countenance fills all heaven with delight and felicity. Look to him in affliction; he will strengthen you. Look to him in temptation; he will succor you. Look to him in death; he will sustain you. Look to him in the judgment; he will save you.'

"It is useless to attempt a description of the electric effect of these compendious sentences. Dr. Maginnis was himself deeply moved, and commenced his concluding address with the exclamation, 'How much I regret you could not have heard our brother for yourselves! I have done my best to repeat him for your benefit, but I have come so far short of the proper expression that I inconceivably regret having made the attempt.' The Rev. Dr. Conant followed with the concluding prayer, and, notwithstanding the concise and classical style which marks all his performances, it was so full of heavenly unction that it was evident that he had drunk deeply into the spirit of the occasion. As for Dr. Eaton, his emotional soul literally *rocked* with intensity.

"After the services, the whole body of students approached the missionary, in the order of their classes, for a personal greeting. It was refreshing to remember that Judson was once a student, and that not one of us was denied a participation with him in the grace and glory of the Redeemer's kingdom.

"There were some of us whom Dr. Judson wished particularly to see, and accordingly the members of the 'Eastern Association' were requested to retire to the study of the Rev. E. C. Lord, now of China. There his whisperings became audible, and we had the pleasure of hearing from him a brief exhortation on the necessity to a missionary of a lively sense of the love of Christ. 'Young brethren,' said he, 'if you really feel that Jesus loves you, how can you avoid loving him with all your heart, and mind, and strength? You can not then hesitate to be and to do all that he requires at any and every conceivable cost.'

"Commending us all to the Lord and to the word of his grace, he departed, leaving one mind, at least, impressed with a conviction of duty to Christ and men, to the present moment."

The clergy and members of the churches of Philadelphia were earnestly desirous that Mr. Judson should visit them, and accordingly requested the Rev. Mr. Gillette to proceed to Boston to persuade him, if possible, to make a short sojourn in their city. He accompanied Mr. Gillette on his return, arriving in Philadelphia December 24th. In the beginning of the new year several meetings were held, which were refreshed by his words, either orally delivered, or read by one of his brethren. The following was one of his principal addresses:

"Be ye imitators of me, as I am of Christ, is a divine command. There is one Being in the universe who unites in himself all the excellences of human and divine nature—that being is Jesus Christ. To become like Jesus Christ, we must be like him, not only in spirit and character, but in the whole course and conduct of life; and to become like him ought to be our whole

aim. In order to this, it is necessary to ascertain the leading characteristics of that glorious Being. It appears from the inspired writings, that one leading characteristic of Christ was, that 'he went about doing good.' To be like him we must go about—not merely *stay* and do good, but *go* and do good. There is another characteristic which we should consider. He led the life of a missionary. In order, therefore, to be like him in this particular, we must endeavor, as far as possible, to lead the life of missionaries. Before my arrival in Burmah there were about seven millions of men, women, and children who had no knowledge of the true God, and of salvation through Jesus Christ. They did not believe in the existence of an eternal God. They believed that when they died they would be changed into beasts, or be annihilated. Their only object in worship was to obtain some mitigation of suffering. They never expected to meet their friends again after death. Imagine yourselves, my Christian friends, in their state, without a knowledge of God. Suppose, while in that state, you heard that in some isle of the sea were those who had received a revelation, informing them that God had sent his own Son to open a way to everlasting life—would you not rejoice if some one should come to show you that way to heaven? Would not some of you believe? Would you not leap with joy, and kiss the feet of those who brought you the good tidings? Would you not, under these circumstances, desire that a messenger should come to you? 'As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' I should rejoice to address the assembly at large, but my physicians have forbidden me, and I must commit this duty to others who are to follow. But allow me

to say, that I regard the office of the missionary as a most glorious occupation, because the *faithful* missionary is engaged in a work which is like that of the Lord Jesus Christ; and a missionary who is *unfaithful*, sinks the lowest of his species in guilt and ignominy. Happy are they who can in this respect follow Christ. But the Lord Jesus is not now a missionary. He has retired from this employment, and now employs himself in sustaining his missionaries with the promise, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end.' If you can not, therefore, become a missionary, sustain by your prayers, your influence, and your property those who are. In these ways Jesus Christ now sustains them. By his *prayers*, as Advocate and Intercessor with the Father; by his *influence*, as he is vested with all power in heaven and earth; by his *property*, by pouring out fresh supplies of his Spirit, and opening the hearts of his children to contribute. In order, therefore, to be like Christ, *go about* doing good; and if it is not in your power to give yourselves to this work, give your prayers, your influence, and your property. So far as we are like Christ in this world, so far shall we be like him through eternity. So far as we sustain this cause, which is peculiarly the cause of God, so far we shall be happy through endless ages."

On another of these occasions, in which all delighted to give him honor, he observed: "I deem it more proper than to receive commendation that I humbly ask to be forgiven for my unprofitableness." In the meetings then held, over fifteen thousand dollars were raised, and the result of them is manifest in the missionary spirit seen to this day.

From Philadelphia, Mr. Judson proceeded south-

ward. One of the first places he visited was Washington. Here, after a sermon by the Rev. G. W. Samson, he is reported to have stated:

"It has been said that human praise to human ears is always sweet; but to him, as a missionary of the Cross, it was only so when offered through him to his Lord. He felt that he was a miserable sinner, and desired that his brethren here would unite and pray for him, that all his unfaithfulness might be pardoned. What was the missionary's work? Some of its responsibilities, and the encouragements we had to prosecute it, Dr. Judson said, had been declared to us in the discourse to which we had listened this evening. When he first visited Burmah, the idea of an eternal God was not believed nor entertained by any of the Burmans; and nothing more than this idea was entertained by the Karens; but now the former had in their own language the whole Word of God; and the New Testament, and parts of the Old, had been translated, by American missionaries, into several other languages of the East. He spoke of our missions as *expensive*, as requiring much for the outfit of missionaries, and for sustaining them in that field; but sacrifices of a *pecuniary* character were not the only or the greatest ones to be encountered. There was the sacrifice of domestic and social comforts here enjoyed, and the sacrifice of life. He remarked that the average life of American missionaries to the East was only about five years. But we must have men and money for this work; and we must all co-operate and make sacrifices together. If men were found willing to go, the church at home should feel willing to send them out, and support them, that they might give themselves wholly to their work. Dr. Judson said that his heart was full, and it was a

great privation to him that he was not able to speak out and unburden himself to the satisfaction of himself and of the audience; but this the providence of God prevented him from doing, and he must submit."

On the 8th of February a mass meeting of the friends of missions was held at Richmond, Va., to express the welcome of Christians in the Southern States. At this meeting, the Rev. J. B. Jeter, President of the Southern Board for Foreign Missions, expressed the appreciation in which he was held and the sympathies entertained for him as follows:

"Brother Judson: I address you on behalf of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, in Richmond, and, I may add, of the whole Baptist denomination in the South. The service is at once pleasing and painful—pleasing, because we had scarcely expected to enjoy the privilege of seeing your face and grasping your hand; painful, because your want of voice prevents you from imparting to us the instruction and encouragement which you are well qualified to communicate; and the brevity of your visit will make the pain of separation almost equal to the pleasure of meeting.

"I seize the present opportunity to present a few remarks; and I do it the more readily, as the state of your health does not permit us to expect many from yourself.

"It is interesting to stand at the head spring of a great river, which, traversing a continent, spreads through kingdoms fertility and all the blessings of commerce. The position awakens emotions of sublimity. It can not be less interesting and inspiring to contemplate events which, in themselves seemingly unimport-

ant, have produced momentous results. To such an event our attention is drawn by your presence.

"When you and your honored associates, Nott, Mills, and Newell, presented to the General Association of Congregationalists in Massachusetts, assembled in Bradford, in 1810, a paper expressing your desire to engage in the work of foreign missions, and asking their advice and aid, who could have anticipated the result of the application? At that time the churches were slumbering profoundly on the subject of missions; there were no missionary societies, no plans matured for conducting missions, and no funds collected for the support of missionaries.

"The application originated the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A noble institution it is, superior to any in our own land, and vying, in the wisdom of its measures and the success of its efforts, with the best ordered and most renowned missionary organizations of the old world. Its annual expenditure is not far, if at all, short of one third of a million of dollars; and its mission stations have dotted almost the whole extent of heathendom.

"Under the patronage of this board, after considerable hesitation and delay on their part, you embarked, with your companion and revered associates, in 1812, for the East. On your arrival there an event occurred deeply affecting your own course and the cause of missions. You, Mrs. Judson, and the lamented Rice became Baptists. Whatever may be said or thought of the change, your sincerity in making it can not be reasonably called in question. You abandoned a Christian denomination, wealthy, with whose members you were intimately acquainted, to whom you were tenderly attached, and from whom you expected a

liberal support, and connected yourself with one comparatively poor, to whose members you were a stranger, and from whom you had no prospect of receiving assistance. The hand of God was in it. The change was the means of arousing among the Baptists of the United States the missionary spirit, and forming the Baptist Triennial Convention, under whose patronage you have so long labored.

"By a remarkable train of events, among which was the breaking out of the war between this country and Great Britain, you were led, or rather driven, into Burmah. God had selected that field for you, and designed that you should accomplish a great work there.

"I pass over the story of your toils and sufferings, your chains and imprisonment, and the almost superhuman fortitude of your now sainted companion. It is familiar to every American, and, indeed, every Christian reader. It forms an essential and thrilling chapter in the history of missions.

"And now, my brother—to say nothing of what has been effected by the missionaries of the Baptist Triennial Convention among the aborigines of America, in France, in Germany, in Denmark, in Greece, in Africa, in China, in Siam, in Hindoostan, in Assam—behold what a change God hath wrought in Burmah, and in the contiguous provinces! The Bible has been translated into the Burman language, carefully revised, printed, put into circulation, and read by thousands. We watched with intense interest the progress of the translation. We prayed that your life might be spared to complete it. We saw you, when, having finished the last leaf of the precious volume, you took it in your hand, and bowing beside your desk, gave thanks to God that he had enabled you to accomplish

the work. To that thanksgiving we subjoined our hearty amen! In that land, so recently enveloped in the darkness of heathenism, churches have been founded, to worship the name and keep the ordinances of Jesus. Native preachers have been raised up to proclaim, in their own tongue, and among their own countrymen, 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.' The Karens, a simple-hearted and singular people, are turning by hundreds and thousands to the Lord. Among them the Gospel has had a success rarely equaled since the days of the apostles. On Burmah 'the morning light is breaking.' The time to favor her has fully come.

"We can not penetrate futurity. I pretend not to be skilled in prophetic interpretation; but in the next half century we may anticipate great accessions to Christianity. We found our hope on *past success*. Wherever the Gospel has been preached plainly and faithfully, from the equator to the poles, among civilized or savage men, it has been the 'power of God unto salvation.' The success of the missionary enterprise has everywhere corresponded, in a remarkable manner, with the measures of ability, zeal, and diligence employed in its prosecution. We base our expectation on the *increasing prevalence of the missionary spirit*. When, more than half a century ago, the work of foreign missions commenced among the Anglo-Saxon Christians, led on by the immortal Carey, it was predicted that its advocates would soon grow weary and relax their efforts. The prediction has not been fulfilled. At no previous period has it been so much the settled policy and purpose of the churches to make efforts and sacrifices in the work of evangelizing the world as it is now. And, above all, we

found our hope on the *Divine promises.* Unless we have misconceived their import, they point to a time of greater light, purity, and triumph in the church than the world has yet seen. This sin-darkened earth is to be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God. From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, the name of Christ shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto his name, and a pure offering.

"Henceforth, my brother, you and we shall labor in connection with different boards. Events which neither you nor we could control produced the separation; and God, we trust, will overrule it for good. One thing is certain: the Southern Baptists have no thought of abandoning the missionary field. We are buckling on our armor, and marshaling our hosts for a stronger onset on the powers of darkness than we have yet made. We have selected China as our battle-field; a vast, interesting, and inviting field it is. It contains one half, if not two thirds of the heathen population of the globe. The wall which for centuries presented an insuperable barrier to the introduction of Christianity has recently been leveled with the dust, and the banner of the Cross now floats in triumph in Canton.

"But I must close my remarks. Brother Judson, we are acquainted with your history. We have marked your labors, have sympathized in your various sufferings, have shed many a tear at the foot of the 'hopia tree,' have gone, in fancy, on mournful pilgrimage to the rocky island of St. Helena, have rejoiced in your successes and the successes of your devoted associates, and have long and fervently wished to see your face in the flesh. This privilege we now enjoy. Welcome,

thrice welcome are you, my brother, to our city, our churches, our bosoms. I speak as the representative of Southern Baptists. We love you for the truth's sake, and for your labors in the cause of Christ. We honor you as the father of American missions.

"One thought pains us. To-morrow morning you will leave us. We shall see your face no more. You will soon return to Burmah, the land of your adoption. There you will continue your toils, and there, probably, be buried. But this separation is not without its solace. Thank God, it is as near from Burmah to heaven as from Richmond, or any other point on the globe. Angels, oft commissioned to convey to heaven the departing spirits of pious Burmans and Karens, have learned the way to that dark land. When dismissed from your toils and sufferings, they will be in readiness to perform the same service for you. God grant that we may all meet in that bright world. There sin shall no more annoy us, separations no more pain us, and every power will find full and sweet employ in the service of Christ.

"And now, my brother, I give my hand in token of our affection to you, and of your cordial reception among us."

To this Christian and sympathetic welcome Mr. Judson thus replied:

"I congratulate the Southern and Southwestern churches on the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention for Foreign Missions. I congratulate the citizens of Richmond that the Board of that Convention is located here. Such an organization should have been formed several years ago. Besides other circumstances, the extent of the country called for a separate organization. I have read with much pleas-

ure the proceedings of the Convention at Augusta, Ga., and commend the dignified and courteous tone of the address sent forth by that body. I am only an humble missionary of the heathen, and do not aspire to be a teacher of Christians in this enlightened country; but if I may be indulged a remark, I would say, that if hereafter the more violent spirits at the North should persist in the use of irritating language, I hope they will be met, on the part of the South, with dignified silence.

"It is of great importance that all who engage in missionary efforts should be influenced by evangelical motives. It is worse than useless to be prompted by ostentation or a love of notoriety. Neither should we enter on this work to assure ourselves of our own personal interest in Christ, though such assurance may be desirable. Neither should the salvation of the heathen be *the motive—the primary consideration*—though this is unquestionably a legitimate end. What, then, is *the* prominent, *all-constraining* impulse that should urge us to make sacrifices in this cause? There is one Being in the universe that unites in himself all the perfections of Deity with all the purest and tenderest of human nature. He has at great expense set up a kingdom in this world. He has *set his heart* on the enlargement of that kingdom, and is constantly exerting his Divine agency to accomplish that purpose. A supreme desire to please him is the grand motive that should animate Christians in their missionary efforts. And in every concern of life we should often look up to that lovely Being and inquire, 'Does this please him?'

"When I commenced my labors in India there was not an individual beyond the Ganges that had any idea of a God. Now, in all those extensive regions,

the people believe in one Supreme Intelligence. Then there was not an individual that prayed to the Christian's God. Now there are many lovely churches and hundreds of happy Christians. I mention this, not because the Gospel has not been equally successful in other parts of the world, but because I am better acquainted with that field of missionary labor, and I desired to give you some idea of the success of the Gospel in Eastern Asia."

It had been Mr. Judson's desire to proceed farther South, but he was only permitted to gratify himself by a visit to Baltimore before he felt it imperative to return northward. At Baltimore a union missionary meeting was held, in which the Rev. Messrs. Hill, Briggs, and McKean, then pastors of the Baptist churches, participated.

On his way to the East, Mr. Judson again made a stay of a few days in Philadelphia. On the first Lord's day in March he joined the Eleventh Street church, of which the Rev. Mr. Gillette was then pastor, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. On this occasion he made an address, which one of the hearers penciled down as it fell from his lips. It is here presented to the reader:

"Beloved brethren: It is a privilege which can not be too highly esteemed, that of approaching the cross, and looking up to Jesus through the emblems which he himself hath appointed. This privilege, my brethren, is at this time ours; let us, then, look unto Jesus, and gathering round the foot of the cross, listen for a few moments to the prayers he offered during his hours of mortal agony. He offered three petitions while hanging on the cross. The first was uttered about nine o'clock in the morning, when he was seized

by the brutal soldiery, and, thrown prostrate on the cross, the nails were driven through his hands and feet; then the cross was raised and fixed in a place previously prepared in the ground, and, as it was driven down, and the whole weight thrown with a sudden jar upon the impaled hands and feet, the entire frame suffered a wrench of agony too terrible to be conceived. Then it was, at that moment of fearful suffering, that the first prayer was offered—'Father, forgive them; they know not what they do.'

"He seized on the only point that can at all extenuate their guilt—'they know not.' 'They know not that I am thy Son, beloved before the world was. Oh, my Father, forgive them!' It was for his murderers that the first prayer upon the cross was offered; and oh, my brethren, it was for *us* too—for us, whose sins had rendered it necessary that he should die. He prayed for *us*, for whose sakes he bore that fearful suffering—'Father, forgive them; they know not what they do.' And may we not hope that the petition has been heard? that the sins committed by us, while yet we knew not, *have* been forgiven for his sake who suffered, and prayed, and died for us? And now that we *do* know the terrible price paid for our redemption, oh! can we ever crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame?

"For three dreadful hours he hung upon the cross; and we may well suppose that all the rage of earth and hell was let loose against him. But a still more awful trial remained, and at twelve o'clock God withdrew his support—his Father's face was vailed. Then, in anguish alike inconceivable and intolerable, he offered the second prayer—'My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?' Shall we suppose that this was

the outburst of agony and despair? or shall we not rather think it was the effort of the Spirit, bewildered by the anguish of that withdrawal, to recollect why it was thus forsaken, and to recall the memory of the sinners for whom he was thus suffering.

"Oh! brethren, if Jesus had yielded then, where should we be? If, his Spirit failing under that intolerable weight of agony, he had refused any longer to endure such suffering, where should we be? and our children, and our friends, and those who have gone before us to glory—where would they be? and the dear Burman and Karen converts; where would they—where would we all be, if Jesus had yielded then? But he did *not* yield; he suffered on for three more awful hours, until the Father saw that all was accomplished—that the price of our redemption was paid—that enough suffering had been endured to render it possible for every individual of our lost race to find salvation. Then, when the price was fully paid, looking upward to the blest abode he had inhabited from all eternity, and longing to spring upward from the bloody cross to the rest and glory at his Father's right hand, he uttered the last petition—'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,' and the cords that bound his soul were loosened, his head sunk upon his shoulder, and he ceased to breathe.

"Oh! brethren, it was for *us* that this agony was endured; let us remember this, and though we can not repay his love, let us give our hearts to him—let us devote our lives to his service. Let us live so that, when we are called to die, we may use the last prayer of our Master, and saying, without fear, 'Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit,' pass away to be forever with the Lord."

The ninth annual meeting of the American and Foreign Bible Society, held May 15th, 1846, was attended by Mr. Judson. On this occasion he prepared an address, which was read by the president. In addition to other merits, it is valuable as containing an expression of his mature views on the proclamation of the Gospel, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel, or, rather, proclaim the good news to every creature. The word *preach* has, in modern usage, acquired a meaning rather too specific for the original. Oral communication may be the first and most obvious, but is certainly not the exclusive meaning of the original word. It is more faithfully represented in English by the word *proclaim*. If a messenger from a king or superior government should be sent to a rebellious province to proclaim pardon to the inhabitants, he would evidently be fulfilling his commission, whether he communicated the intelligence by addressing the people in his own person, or by inserting notices in the public prints, or by circulating handbills, or by distributing authentic documents from the sovereign, declaring the terms of pardon. The Apostle Paul did as really and certainly, as effectually and extensively, proclaim the Gospel, when he penned the Epistles to the Hebrews and the Romans, as when he addressed the Jews in their synagogues, or received company in his own hired house at Rome. The earlier communications of a missionary, sent to impart the Gospel to an unenlightened people, will probably be of an oral kind; but he will have very imperfectly fulfilled his commission if he leave them without the written Word. The mischievous consequences also of such neglect are abundantly manifest in the missions conducted by the Man of Sin. Protestant missions have patronized the

translation and distribution of the Scriptures; *but of late years there has appeared, in one or two instances, a tendency to promote the oral communication of the Gospel, not, indeed, to an undue pre-eminence, but in such a manner as to throw a shade over the written communication by means of tracts and Scriptures.* In examining the annals of modern missions, it is difficult to ascertain which mode of communicating the Gospel among a reading nation has received the greatest share of Divine blessing, and been instrumental of bringing most souls to the knowledge of the truth. And however the preaching of the Gospel, in its common acceptation, and the distribution of tracts, may secure earlier effects, and be regarded as more popular, all missionary operations, to be permanently successful, must be based on the written Word. Where that Word is most regarded and honored, there will be the most pure and permanent success.

"The Word of God is the golden lamp hung out of heaven to enlighten the nations that sit in darkness, and to show them the path that leads from the confines of hell to the gates of paradise. The Bible, in the original tongues, comprises *all* the revelation now extant which God has given to this world. It is, in all its contents, and parts, and appendages, just *the book*, the one book, which Infinite Wisdom saw best adapted to answer the end of a written revelation. It may not be reducible to the rules of human philosophy or logic, for it transcends them all. It is just as clear and obscure, just as copious and scanty, has just as many beauties and blemishes, is replete with just as many difficulties and apparent contradictions, as Infinite Wisdom saw necessary, in order to make it, like all the works of God, perfect and unique. This one

perfect book is the sacred deposit in the hands of the church. It has been deposited with the injunction, 'Freely ye have received, freely give.' Woe be to that man who withholds the treasure from his neighbor. Woe be to him who attempts to obscure the light of the lamp of heaven. It is the peculiar glory of the last half century that the Christian world has awaked to the duty and importance of giving the sacred Word 'to all lands.' Praised be God for Bible and Missionary societies, the peculiar institutions of modern times. May their efforts be continued and enlarged a hundred-fold, until their work is consummated—until the Bible is translated and published in every language under heaven, and a copy of the sacred volume deposited in every palace, and house, and hut inhabited by man.

"In this momentous era, can any believer in the Christian religion hope to lie down in the grave, and pass quietly to paradise, without having made some effort to diffuse the light of the Bible throughout the world? Before he cherishes such a hope, and makes up his mind for such repose, let him consider how many millions there are who have never seen so much as one leaf of the sacred volume, never tasted so much as one drop of the water of that well from which he is drawing and drinking every day. Let him consider how much money must be expended, how many toilsome efforts made, and how many lives sacrificed, before the book can be translated, printed, published, and distributed, before the well can be unsealed, and the water of life drawn and presented to all mankind. And then let him inquire of his conscience what he has done toward accomplishing this great work, during the years that have passed since he ventured to hope in

the Saviour. He will then be unable to refrain from lifting his cry, God of mercy, have mercy on me, and help me from this moment to spring forward to the work with such alacrity, and resolution, and self-devotement as will secure the approving smile of the Saviour, and afford my own soul satisfaction on the great day."

The final meeting of the General Convention, which was held in the Pierrepont-street Church, Brooklyn, also occurred in the month of May. On the evening of the first day the Rev. Baron Stow read the following remarks, which Mr. Judson had prepared for the occasion:

"The greatest popular objection to the missionary enterprise is drawn from the small success which has attended missionary efforts among the great nations of the earth. Some progress has been made in converting the ruder tribes of man; but it must be confessed that no encouraging impression had been made in a single instance upon a great and particularly civilized people. The subject of missions has taken too deep a hold on the public mind, and is too severely scrutinized to allow this objection to pass without an effort to meet it fairly, and in such a way, if possible, as to encourage the well-disposed and conciliate the rest.

"The nations and tribes of man that call for missionary efforts may be considered under several divisions. One division comprises those who have no religion, no literature, not even, perhaps, a written language; no priesthood of much influence or prescriptive right, and no imposing, long established, powerful government. Such a people will evidently be less prejudiced, their minds more open to the solicitations of a new religion, and there will be fewer barriers in the way of embracing it. In human view, therefore, success might be

expected; and in the Divine view, a people not crushed under the weight of idolatry, not deeply stained with the sin of hereditary, enthusiastic worship of false gods, may appear less repugnant and more accessible to the influence of the Holy Spirit. These remarks are justified by the success which has crowned the efforts of missionaries among the Greenlanders, the Karens, the South Sea islanders, and the people of color in the West Indies and other parts. Another division comprises those nations where the Christian religion once flourished, but subsequently passed away, leaving the form of godliness without the power. Among such people we might expect that the opposition of rulers and priests to the introduction of vital Christianity would assume a furious, bloodthirsty character for a time, present a very formidable and appalling barrier; but that the knowledge of Divine truth extensively diffused among the people, and some hereditary reverence for the Scriptures, aided by the prayers of a pious ancestry, would ere long roll back the tide of opposition, and send forth judgment unto victory. Such appears to be the course of events in the northern parts of Germany and among the Americans; and such will probably be the course among the Greeks and Roman Catholics. All these nations may be placed among the second class—second in regard to the time of their evangelical conversion.

"The third division of the human family, the lowest class, that is, the last in the order of time—the class which will tire out the wavering and faint-hearted, and send to their homes all but the few who have put their hands to the plow with a grasp that no discouragement, not death itself, can unloose, but who bring up their children to the same work and swear them at the

same altar—that class comprises, alas! three fourths of the family of man, all the Mohammedan, the Braminical and Boodhistic nations, and all these numerous tribes and subdivisions where those false religions prevail under some modification. These nations have generally a literature erudite and extensive, closely interwoven with their religion. Their priesthood is hereditary, or invested with the most sacred, imposing credentials, and supported by all the power of the government. Their governments are monarchical, despotic, intolerant, hostile to all free inquiry, opposed to all reform, and their police well organized, and extending to almost every house and person. Shall we wonder, shall we be dismayed, shall we lose all heart, and relinquish the work in despair, because the Christian religion is not welcomed by such people, because the first missionaries can not within a few years enroll thousands among their converts? Is it nothing that they have obtained entrance and foothold in almost every one of these nations—that they have acquired the languages, even the most difficult—that they have compiled grammars and dictionaries—that in the most important of those languages they have translated the New Testament, and in some cases the whole Bible—that they have prepared tracts and hymn-books and elementary works for the purposes of education—that they have organized various orders of schools, and even theological seminaries, though yet in a quite incipient state—that they have planted churches in many parts of Braminical and Boodhistic countries, containing, not, indeed, thousands, but yet hundreds of penitent, believing, praying souls—that angels have found their way to those long abandoned regions, commissioned by the Saviour to gather in the first-fruits, pre-

cious, most precious, in his eyes? Is it nothing that the ideas of the eternal God, and of the Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, are daily spreading throughout these countries, commending themselves to the consciences of men, gradually undermining the reigning superstitions, and preparing the way for the triumph of truth, the full ushering in of millennial glory? Shall it be objected that the success is small? Yes, it is small; but it would have been greater, if the Christian world had put forth strength, and if missionaries had been more faithful. But I submit, whether it has not been great enough to show us where our fault lies—great enough to prompt us to endeavor to correct it—great enough to encourage us to adopt the motto of my venerable father after he became a Baptist in his old age and was drawing near the grave, '*Keep straight forward, and trust in God.*' "

On the 2d of June Mr. Judson was united in marriage, at Hamilton, to Miss Emily Chubbuck, the ceremony being performed by the venerable Dr. Kendrick. With this lady Mr. Judson became acquainted in December, 1845, in Philadelphia, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Gillette. She had previously been chiefly known in the walks of literature by the name of "Fanny Forrester." Her gifted pen has at various times promoted the cause of Christianity in circles where others might seek in vain to render service.

After his marriage Mr. Judson proceeded to Boston to make preparations for a final departure from his native land. Arrangements having been made for his leaving the United States, in the ship Faneuil Hall, early in July, valedictory services were held in the Baldwin Place church of that city, June 30th, 1846. The introductory devotional exercises of the occasion

were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Neal, of Boston, and the Rev. Dr. Ripley, of Newton. Then followed an address from the Rev. Baron Stow, in which he traced the manifestation of Divine Providence in the progress of the missions, remarkable for its reproduction of familiar circumstances in new and impressive lights.

In concluding his remarks, Dr. Stow offered words of encouragement to those to whom the mission work was a new undertaking,* and then addressing himself to Mr. Judson, said: "Go, my brother, and resume the work which you was compelled reluctantly to suspend. Go, finish that work; and as you send the last revised sheet to the press, bow again, and we will bow with you, in thankfulness to your gracious Preserver. And when that is done, may we hear of you once more at Ava—not as a fettered prisoner, tracking the sands with your blood; nor yet as a commissioner, to negotiate a treaty between contending nations; but as an ambassador from the King of Zion to the proud capital and its haughty court. Go, fulfill your mission, and prepare for your reward."

When again the vast audience had bowed in prayer—its devotions having been led by Rev. Dr. Sharp, and the instructions of the board read by the Rev. S. Peck—the veteran missionary arose, and, with his own voice, spoke as follows:

"My friends are aware that it is quite impossible for me, without serious injury to myself, to sustain my voice at such a height as to reach this large assembly, except for a few sentences. I have, therefore, taken the liberty of putting some thoughts on paper, which the Rev. Mr. Hague will do me the honor of reading to you.

"I wish, however, in my own voice, to praise God for the deep inter-

* The Rev. Messrs. Harris and Beecher, with their wives, and Miss Lillybridge, left for Burmah at the same time.

est in the cause of missions manifested by the friends of the Redeemer in this city and the vicinity, and to thank them for all their expressions and acts of kindness toward me during my brief sojourn among them. I regret that circumstances have prevented my spending more time in this city, and forming a more intimate acquaintance with those whom a slight acquaintance has taught me so much to love.

"It is as certain as any future event can be, that I shall never again revisit the shores of my native land; that, after a few days, your beautiful city, this great and glorious country, will be forever shut from my view. No more shall I enter your places of worship; no more shall I behold your faces, and exchange the affectionate salutations of Christian love.

"The greatest favor we can bestow on our absent friends is to bear them on our hearts at the throne of grace. I pray you, dear friends, remember me there, and my missionary associates, and our infant churches, and the poor heathen, among whom we go to live. And though we do meet no more on earth, I trust that our next meeting will be in that blessed world where 'the loved and the parted here below meet ne'er to part again.'"

On the conclusion of these oral remarks Dr. Hague read the following:

"There are periods in the lives of men, who experience much change of scene and variety of adventure, when they seem to themselves to be subject to some supernatural illusion, or wild, magical dream; when they are ready, amid the whirl of conflicting recollections, to doubt their own personal identity, and, like steersmen in a storm, feel that they must keep a steady eye at the compass and a strong arm at the wheel. The scene spread out before me seems, on retrospection, to be identified with the past, and at the same time to be reaching forward and foreshadowing the future. At one moment the lapse of thirty-four years is annihilated; the scenes of 1812 are again present; and this assembly—how like that which commended me to God on first leaving my native shores for the distant East! But, as I look around, where are the well-known faces of Spring, and Worcester, and Dwight? Where are Lyman, and Huntington, and Griffin? And where are those leaders of the baptized ranks who stretched out their arms across the water and received me into their communion? Where are Baldwin and Bolles? Where Holcombe, and Rogers, and Staughton? I see them not. I have been to their temples of worship, but their voices have passed away. And where are my early missionary associates—Newell, and Hall, and Rice, and Richards, and Mills? But

why inquire for those so ancient? Where are the succeeding laborers in the missionary field for many years, and the intervening generation who sustained the missions? And where are those who moved amid the dark scenes of Rangoon, and Ava, and Tavoy? Where those gentle, yet firm spirits, which tenanted forms—delicate in structure, but careless of the storm—now broken, and scattered, and strewn, like the leaves of autumn, under the shadow of overhanging trees, and on remote islands of the sea?

"No, these are not the scenes of 1812, nor is this the assembly that convened in the Tabernacle of a neighboring city. Many years have elapsed; many venerated, many beloved ones have passed away to be seen no more. 'They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.' And with what words shall I address those who have taken their places, the successors of the venerated and the beloved, the generation of 1812?

"In that year American Christians pledged themselves to the work of evangelizing the world. They had but little to rest on, except the command and promise of God. The attempts then made by British Christians had not been attended with so much success as to establish the practicability or vindicate the wisdom of the missionary enterprise. For many years the work advanced but slowly. One denomination after another embarked in the undertaking, and now American missionaries are seen in almost every clime. Many languages have been acquired; many translations of the Bible have been made; the Gospel has been extensively preached, and churches have been established containing thousands of sincere, intelligent converts. The obligation, therefore, on the present generation, to redeem the pledge given by their fathers, is greatly enhanced. And it is an animating consideration, that, with the enhancement of the obligation, the encouragement to persevere in the work, and to make still greater efforts, is increasing from year to year. Judging from the past, what may we rationally expect during the lapse of another thirty or forty years? Look forward with the eye of faith. See the missionary spirit universally diffused and in active operation throughout this country; every church sustaining, not only its own minister, but, through some general organization, its own missionary in a foreign land. See the Bible faithfully translated into all languages; the rays of the lamp of heaven transmitted through every medium, and illuminating all lands. See the Sabbath spreading its holy calm over the face of the earth, the churches of Zion assembling, and the praises of Jesus resounding from shore to shore; and though the great majority may still remain, as now in this Christian country, without hope, and without God in the world, yet the barriers in the way of the descent and operations of the

Holy Spirit removed, so that revivals of religion become more constant and more powerful.

"The world is yet in its infancy; the gracious designs of God are yet hardly developed. Glorious things are spoken of Zion, the city of our God. She is yet to triumph, and become the joy and glory of the whole earth. Blessed be God that we live in these latter times—the latter times of the reign of darkness and imposture. Great is our privilege, precious our opportunity, to co-operate with the Saviour in the blessed work of enlarging and establishing his kingdom throughout the world. Most precious the opportunity of becoming wise, in turning many to righteousness, and of shining, at last, as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars, forever and ever.

"Let us not, then, regret the loss of those who have gone before us, and are waiting to welcome us home, nor shrink from the summons that must call us thither. Let us only resolve to follow them who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises. Let us so employ the remnant of life, and so pass away, that our successors will say of us, as we of our predecessors, 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord. They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.'"

The last public services in which Mr. Judson participated before the departure for the field of his toil was at a united missionary concert held by the Baptist churches in Boston on the first Lord's-day evening in July. The remarks he prepared for this occasion were as follows:

"It is the most momentous question we can put to our own souls, whether we truly love the Lord Jesus Christ or not? for as that question is answered in the affirmative or the negative, our hope of heaven grows bright or dark. If we take the right way to ascertain, there is no question that can be more easily answered. It is the nature of true love to seek the pleasure and happiness of the person beloved. We no sooner ascertain the object on which his heart is set, than we lend all our efforts to secure that object. What is the object on which the heart of the Saviour is set? For what purpose did he leave the bosom of the Father, the throne of eternal glory, to come down to sojourn, and suffer, and die in this fallen, rebellious world? For what purpose does he now sit on the mediatorial throne, and exert the power with which he is invested? To restore the ruins of paradise—to redeem his chosen people from death and hell—to extend and establish his kingdom throughout the habitable globe. This is evident from his whole course on earth, from his promises to the church, and especially from his part-

ing command, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.'

"The means which he has appointed for the accomplishment of the purpose dearest his heart is the universal preaching of the Gospel. Do you, a professor of religion, love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity? Have you set your heart on that object which is dearest to his heart? Are you endeavoring to obey his great parting command? But perhaps you will say, This command is not binding on me. It is impossible for me to obey, and God never commands an impossibility. And saying thus, you disclose the real reason why men do little or nothing for missions—that while they feel under obligation to endeavor to keep the commands which require them to love God supremely, and to love others as themselves, and feel guilty when conscious of neglecting or transgressing those commands, they never make an effort to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature—never think of feeling guilty for having neglected and transgressed that command all their lives long!

"But let me now submit, that the command can be obeyed by every believer—that it is of universal obligation—and that no profession ought to be regarded as sincere, no love to the Saviour genuine, unless it be attended with a sincere endeavor to obey. But you will reply, How can I, unqualified and encumbered as I am, arise and go forth into the wide world and proclaim the Gospel? Please to remember that all great public undertakings are accomplished by a combination of various agencies. In commerce and in war, for instance, some agents are necessarily employed at home, and some abroad; some at the headquarters, and some on distant expeditions: but however differently employed, and in whatever places, they are all interested, and all share the glory and the gain. So, in the missionary enterprise, the work to be accomplished is the universal preaching of the Gospel, and the conversion of the whole world to the Christian faith; and in order to this, some must go, and some must send and sustain them that go. "How can they hear without a preacher, and how can they preach except they be sent?" Those that remain at home and labor to send and sustain those that go, are as really employed in the work, and do as really obey the Saviour's command, as those who go in their own person. See you not, then, that the great command can be obeyed, and is actually binding on every soul? Feel you not that you are under obligation to do your utmost to secure that object at which the Saviour aimed, when he gave that command? Is it possible there is some one in this assembly to whom it may be said, You will find, on examination, that you have not done your utmost—that indeed you have never laid this command to heart, or made any very serious effort to obey it; if so, how

can you hope that your love to the Saviour is any thing more than an empty profession? How is it possible that you love the Saviour, and yet feel no interest in that object on which his heart is set? What, love the Saviour, who bled and died for this cause, and yet spend your whole existence on earth in toiling for your personal sustenance, and gratification, and vain-glory! O, that dread tribunal to which we are hastening! Souls stripped of all disguise there! The final Judge, a consuming fire! 'Search me, O God, and know my heart; try me, and know my thoughts; and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.'"

Mr. and Mrs. Judson embarked with their associates on Saturday, July 11th. Although this took place about noon on one of the most oppressive days of the season, a large company was found assembled when they reached the wharf. A small raised platform served for the valedictory exercises. The prayer, touching and fervent, was offered by the Rev. A. D. Gillette, and then the company united in singing the following hymn, prepared for the occasion by Mrs. A. M. C. Edmond.

Fare ye well, O friends beloved!
Speed ye on your mission high;
Give to lands of gloomy error
Living truths that never die.
Tell, O tell them,
Their redemption draweth nigh.

Fearless ride the stormy billows,
Fearless every danger dare;
Onward! in your steadfast purpose,
We will follow you with prayer.
Glorious mission!
'Tis the Cross of Christ ye bear.

Though our parting waken sadness,
'Tis not all the grief of woe;
There are tears of Christian gladness
Mingling with the drops that flow.
'Tis for Jesus
That we freely bid you go.

Yes! we would not here detain you,
But our daily prayers shall rise,
Earnest with the love we bear you,
While you toil where error lies—
Fervent pleadings,
For rich blessings from the skies.

Man of God! *once more* departing
Hence, to preach a Saviour slain,
With a full, warm heart we give thee
To the glorious work *again*.
Faithful servant,
Thou with Christ shall rest and reign.

Fare ye well! till toils are ended,
And on earth we cease to dwell;
Till around the throne we gather
Rapt in bliss no tongue can tell;
Friends in Jesus!
Precious kindred—fare you well!

The voice of song ceased; the last farewells were uttered; one after another hastened on shore, till the missionary company found none around them but the companions of their voyage. The ship was loosed from her moorings; occasional signals were exchanged with the shore, but soon Boston itself became scarcely visible. Thus the missionary took leave of his friends in his native country, never again to meet them till all should gather to unite hand to hand and heart to heart in the eternal reunion of the unseen world.

The following letter, it will be seen, was written at intervals:

TO THE EDITORS OF THE CHRISTIAN REFLECTOR, BOSTON, MASS.

SHIP FANEUIL HALL, OFF ST. HELENA, *September*, 1846.

DEAR BRETHREN—In the hurry of leaving America, I neglected to thank my unknown friend, who, under his initials, sent me a note, through you, suggesting some corrections in the lines prepared for inscription on the headstone of the grave at St. Helena. I received his

favor just in time to avail myself of his suggestion; and the lines now stand thus:

> She sleeps sweetly here, on this rock of the ocean,
> Away from the home of her youth,
> And far from the land where with heartfelt devotion,
> She scattered the bright beams of truth.

The gravestones were shipped for the Cape of Good Hope about the middle of April last, and have probably by this time reached their destination. Having pen in hand, I am tempted to add a line, being, as the date indicates, "off the island," though several hundred miles distant, for it lies not in the track of outward-bound ships. The precipitous, rocky cliffs, however, that form the outline of that spot on the ocean, the narrow ravine winding between them and leading to the walled mansion of the dead, the low, overshadowing tree, and the swelling turf, marked, perhaps, by the white gravestones, are all distinctly before me. And, did the misty mythology of antiquity still obtain, I could fancy the spirit of the departed sitting on one of the cloud-wrapped peaks that overhang her grave, and pensively observing the Faneuil Hall on her circuitous route to the southeast. "Why are you wheeling away at such a distance from me and my lonely dwelling? The dear little ones that I left in your charge, where are they? And who—what slender form is that I see at your side, occupying the place that once was mine?" But the mistiness and darkness of Pagan mythology have been dispelled by beams of light from those higher heights where she is really sitting. And thence, if departed spirits take cognizance of things on earth, she sees with satisfaction that I am *hastening* back to the field of our common labors. She sees, with delight and gratitude to God, that all her children are situated in precise accordance with her last wishes and prayers. And glad she is to see me returning, not unattended.

Farewell, rock of the ocean! I thank thee that thou hast given me a "place where I might bury my dead." Blessings on the dear friends of the Saviour who dwell there. And if any of the surviving children of the departed should ever enjoy the privilege, which is denied me, of visiting and shedding a tear over her grave, may a double portion of her heavenly spirit descend and rest upon them.

OFF THE ISLE OF FRANCE, *October*, 1846.

Above thirty-three years ago, I went with my dear wife (the first Mrs. Judson) to the populous city of the dead in Port Louis, on the adjacent island, to visit the new-made grave of Harriet Newell, the first American missionary who left this world for Heaven. It has been my privilege, twice since, to make a pilgrimage to the same

spot. The last time, my second departed one expected to find her resting-place by the side of Mrs. Newell, but her grave was digging in another island.

It is a thought that presses on me at this moment, how little the missionary who leaves his native land can calculate on his final resting-place Out of twenty-five missionaries, male and female, with whom I have been associated, and who have gone before me, five or six only found their graves in those places to which they were first sent. Strangers and pilgrims, they had no abiding place on earth; they sought a permanent abode beyond the skies; and they sought to show the way thither to multitudes who were groping in darkness, and saw it not.

OFF AMHERST, *November* 27, 1846.

The wide expanse of the ocean is again crossed; the Maulmain mountains loom in the distant horizon; the Kyaik-a-mee pagoda indicates the promontory of Amherst; and now, on the green bank just beyond, I discern, with a telescope, the small inclosure which contains the sleeping-place of my dear Ann and her daughter Maria. Like my missionary associates, the members of my own family are scattered far and wide; for the mounds that mark their graves stud the burial-places of Rangoon, Amherst, Maulmain, Serampore, and St. Helena. What other place shall next be added to the list?

Above eighteen months ago I sailed from these shores with a heavy heart, distressed at leaving my friends and my work, and appalled at the prospect of impending death. With mingled emotions I now return. But these things suit rather the eye and the ear of private friends. I will only add my fervent wish that the Heaven-blessed land where I have been so warmly received during my late brief visit, may pour forth her representatives, her wealth, and her prayers, to enlighten and enrich this my adopted land, whose shores are just now greeting my eyes. Yours affectionately,

A. JUDSON.

After a voyage of one hundred and forty days, Mr. Judson was once more permitted to land in Maulmain. From his household flock one had been removed by death, but the two surviving children it was his privilege to find in good health. In the mission he found in every department evidences of progress and prosperity.

Chapter Seventeenth.

CLOSING TOILS.

"As always, so now also, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life, or by death."—PHIL. i. 20.

THOUGH the sojourn in his native land proved in some respects very refreshing to our missionary, yet, as on his departure from Maulmain, so till the period of his restoration to that place, the thought that his labors in connection with the dictionary were intermitted, weighed heavily on his spirits. His lexicographical labors, it is true, were not marked by the enthusiasm which was evident in his translation of the sacred oracles, but he was disposed, according to the language he had recently employed in the United States, to toil on all his appointed time, until his change should come. No sooner, therefore, was he restored to his Burman home than he set himself again to carry forward his important undertaking.

In the twenty years in which missionary labor had been chiefly prosecuted under the protection of the British flag, God had given him to see much of his goodness and mercy, but there was yet "a region beyond." The extension of the Redeemer's kingdom in Burmah proper was a subject of intense interest to his mind. As the dictionary was likely to be his main work for some time, and he knew that Rangoon would

afford him better facilities in his toils than Maulmain, as far as men and books were concerned, he was led to consider the advisableness of removing there. To this change of location he was favorably inclined from the fact that several missionaries were at Maulmain, while there was not one in Rangoon, and of course those who were seeking to come to the knowledge of the truth were without earthly teachers to guide them. At the same time a residence at his old station promised the best opportunity to watch the indications of Providence with regard to a recommencement of missionary exertions in the country.

Influenced by these considerations, our subject made a preparatory visit to Rangoon in January, 1847. Though a revolution had occurred some time before his visit, he found, as he previously anticipated, that the prospect of toleration for professors of Christianity was extremely dark. Nevertheless it seemed probable that opportunity might occur for quietly diffusing a knowledge of the Gospel. As the governor encouraged him to make his abode in Rangoon, he determined to remove his household there, though the official was very careful to let him understand that his approval was given him on account of the religious interests of the English residents and the dictionary.

The resolution being formed, he returned to Maulmain, and finding that the vessel in which he had secured a passage for his family and effects would be ready to leave in a week, Mrs. Judson and himself made their preparations as speedily as possible, and by the end of February he was settled once more in the golden empire. The only habitation which presented itself in his reconnoitering visit was the upper part of a brick house, which possessed but small ad-

vantages for ventilation or convenience; and this was situated in an undesirable section of the town. Though he felt some hesitancy in seeing his wife and children occupy this abode, yet for himself the opportunity of prosecuting his work was the chief concern.

On account of past experiences of Burman rapacity, Mr. Judson determined to take but a small portion of his household gear with him to Rangoon. Scarcely, however, had the family become domiciled in Rangoon, before tidings reached them that the dwelling occupied by the Rev. Mr. Stevens, in which considerable property had been deposited, was consumed by fire. By this conflagration articles of considerable pecuniary value were lost, and as many things were greatly valued from the fact that they were presents from kindred and friends in his native land, it was the more regretted. It is scarcely necessary to say that a man who had known much greater losses, and who had borne them with a fortitude so remarkable, was not wanting in equanimity under this affliction.

In attempting to resume missionary labor in Rangoon, our subject found several things which were far different from his wishes. To some of these he alludes in a communication addressed to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Union, March 28, 1847: "I have just returned from baptizing a Burman convert, in the same tank of water where I baptized the first Burman convert, Moung Nau, twenty-eight years ago. It is now twenty-five years since I administered baptism in Rangoon, the few converts that have been made during that period being generally baptized by the native pastor. My time has been mostly spent in Maulmain, where, having been instrumental, with others, in raising up a few Burmese and Karen churches, I

have left them, since my return from America, in the care of my dear and excellent missionary brethren, and am now making a small attempt in Burmah proper. The attempt, however, is made under very discouraging circumstances. The present administration of government, though rather more friendly to foreigners, is more rigidly intolerant than that of the late king, Tharawaddy. Any known attempt at proselyting would be instantly amenable at the criminal tribunal, and would probably be punished by the imprisonment or death of the proselyte and the banishment of the missionary. The governor of this place has received me favorably, not as a missionary, though he well knows, from old acquaintance, that that is my character, but as a minister of a foreign religion, ministering to foreigners resident in the place, and a dictionary maker, 'laboring to promote the welfare of both countries.' Our missionary efforts, therefore, being conducted in private, must necessarily be very limited. It is, however, a precious privilege to be allowed to welcome into a private room a small company, perhaps two or three individuals only, and pour the light of truth into their immortal souls; souls that, but for the efficacy of that light, would be covered with the gloom of darkness—the darkness to be felt to all eternity.

"Another discouraging circumstance is the very low state of the Burman church in this place. There are about twenty nominal members still surviving; but they are much scattered, and not half of them appear to be living members. I have therefore been making an attempt to reorganize the church, and have found four individuals who have united with myself and wife in renewing our church covenant, and estab-

lishing a new church. We have this day received one new member, and we hope to find a few more of the old members who will come up to our standard."

With the discouragements this letter mentions, yet there were some hopeful evidences of religious inquiry on the part of a few of the Burmans; while the number of the Karen inquirers was such as considerably to interrupt the labors connected with the dictionary.

Regular worship was maintained on the Sabbath, and with increasing congregations, till the last Lord's day of May. Mr. Judson then recorded: "This is the first Lord's day on which I have had no regular worship. A private order of government was issued, day before yesterday, to have the house I occupy watched by police officers, in order to apprehend any who might be liable to the charge of favoring 'Jesus Christ's religion.' Seasonable information was communicated to me and the disciples by 'friends at court,' so that they have all escaped at present. None came near me, except two from the country, and with them I had a very interesting and affecting time in a private room, and they got off undiscovered. Four Karen lads, who had been waiting for a passage to Maulmain, decamped before light this morning for their native jungle."

The sanguinary character of the chief ruler of Rangoon, the same communication thus exhibits: "The vice-governor of the place, who is, indeed, the acting governor at present, is the most ferocious, bloodthirsty monster I have ever known in Burmah. It is said that his house and court-yard resound, day and night, with the screams of people under torture. Even foreigners are not beyond his grasp. He lately wreaked his rage on some Armenians and Mussulmans, and one of the latter class died in the hands of a subordinate

officer. His crime was quite a venial one; but in order to extort money, he was tortured so barbarously that the blood streamed from his mouth, and he was dead in an hour."

This hindrance to missionary effort made a painful impression on Mr. Judson's mind. "I am afraid," he writes, "that while the present monster is in power, I shall not be able to convene the disciples for worship as hitherto. He is, however, only acting on the orders which are understood to be in force all over the country, proscriptive of the Christian religion. I feel the blow most deeply, for I had just succeeded in reorganizing a little church, out of old materials and some lately baptized, amounting in number to eleven, nearly all pure Burmans; and last Sunday I had an assembly of above twenty. Several new ones were expected to-day, and two would probably have been baptized. I had become so attached to the little church and assembly, and so glad on every returning Lord's day to lay aside my tedious dictionary labors, and spend all the day in obtaining and communicating spiritual refreshment, that the present interruption seems almost too hard to bear. However, I hope to do something yet in private to aid a few perishing souls who are struggling, through darkness and terror, to find a way of escape from the more dread darkness and terror of eternal death. But every thing must be done in private. Not even a tract can be given publicly. That point I ascertained a few years ago, on a visit to the place, which I believe I never mentioned in writing home. In order to test the real extent and efficiency of the king's order prohibiting the distribution of books at Ava, I opened a box of tracts in the front part of the house where I was a guest for a few

days. The people took them greedily, but in less than an hour my assistant, Ko En, was arrested and placed in confinement. It cost me a great deal to get him free, and when he was released it was on condition that he would give no more tracts. This time, therefore, I brought no tracts for distribution, and have confined myself to private conversation, except convening an assembly for worship—and that in an 'upper room'—every Lord's day."

Though despotism was powerful, there were some who felt it better to hazard their lives than neglect obedience to Christ. The following record was made June 6th: "No formal worship; but a fine young man whom we had concluded to receive into the church, son of one of the oldest converts, spent the day with me, in company with two or three others; and just at night we repaired to the remote side of the old baptizing place, and, under cover of the bushes, perpetrated a deed which, I trust, our enemies will not be able to gainsay or invalidate to all eternity."

Two days after, Mr. Judson mentions a remarkable instance of deliverance of the father of this young man: "Yesterday morning the young man, on returning to his residence, a few miles distant, met his father under arrest, in the hands of the myrmidons of government, on their way to the court of the governor—not, I was glad to learn, the ferocious vice-governor above mentioned. One of the converts came to give me notice, and for two or three hours I sat expecting the worst. But the blow was averted as suddenly as it was aimed. 'What have you brought the man before me for?' said the officer. 'To be examined on a charge of heresy and frequenting the house of Jesus Christ's teacher,' said the leading accuser. 'On what

authority?' 'Here is your written order.' 'What! Who? I have given no order. It must be one of my petty clerks. It is all a mistake. Go about your business.' 'I thought it strange,' rallied the arrested, 'that you should summon me on a charge of heresy, as it is well known that I worship the true God.' 'God,' said the officer, rather nettled; 'worship any god you like." 'Or the devil!' promptly added a virago, sitting on an official cushion at his side; 'if you villagers just pay your taxes, what more do we want of you?'

"As near as we can ascertain the truth of this strange affair, the officer, after sending off the order early in the morning, not entertaining the least doubt that the measure would be approved—as the religion of Jesus Christ is understood to be universally proscribed—stepped, however, into the government house, and reported what he had done; and the governor, remembering his pledge to me on my first arrival, quashed the proceeding. Thanks be to God!"

With respect to the governor, our missionary states: "This is not the first favor he has done me, as I have just learned by a very private, confidential communication from a sworn employé of government, a friend of mine, though not of the cause. A few days ago, one of the highest members of government represented to his excellency that two or three years ago, under the administration of his predecessor, three of these heretical teachers came from Maulmain with the intention of effecting a settlement in the empire; that he mentioned their arrival to the then governor, who left their disposal entirely in his hands, on which he ordered them out of the country; and that the said teachers then pretended they had not come to stay,

and immediately took their departure. On hearing this, the governor kept his head bent over his breakfast, and made no reply. And the officer, feeling that he had not sufficient encouragement to bring forward my case, withdrew to wait for a more convenient season. But the term of this governor's rule is drawing to a close, and it is expected by many that he will be succeeded by the ferocious vice-governor."

On the following Lord's day not an individual ventured near the missionary. With the unfavorable aspect in Rangoon, his thoughts turned, as in former days, to Ava. "I am persuaded," he wrote, "as I have been for years past, that the only way to keep footing in Rangoon is to obtain some countenance at Ava. My principal object in coming hither was to ascertain the practicability and probable advantage of proceeding to the capital."

To this proposed visit to the golden city the governor of Rangoon gave his consent, and the season favorable for ascending the Irrawaddy was at hand, when Mr. Judson found himself compelled to abandon the project. When the single-hearted devotedness which had characterized him through his long life is considered, the cause might fill not a few American Christians with shame. "The board," he says, "have approved the measure, but have not been able to accompany their approval with the needful remittance. On the contrary, I learn from my last letters from Maulmain, that the annual appropriation for the Burman mission is ten thousand rupees less than the current expenses require. The brethren have been obliged to retrench in every department, instead of being able to make an appropriation for a new enterprise. My extra expense in Rangoon for assistants and house rent is

eighty-six rupees a month, and they have been able to allow me seventeen and a half only. The mission secretary writes me, that for any thing beyond that sum, I must look, not to their treasury, but to the board. Instead, therefore, of entering on a new and expensive undertaking, I find myself unable to remain in Rangoon. But no; I might hope that an appeal home would provide means for remaining here; but in present circumstances, unable to remain to any advantage without making friends at Ava, and having no hope that the board will be able to commence a new station, or even sustain the old ones much longer, there remains nothing for me but to fall back upon Maulmain."

In this disappointment, though filled with the belief that the principles of the denomination to which he belonged were destined to universal acceptance, he felt compelled to write as follows: "It is my growing conviction that the Baptist churches in America are behind the age in missionary spirit. They now and then make a spasmodic effort to throw off a nightmare debt of some years' accumulation, and then sink back into unconscious repose. Then come paralyzing orders to retrench; new enterprises are checked in their very conception, and applicants for missionary employ are advised to wait, and soon become merged in the ministry at home. Several cases of that sort I encountered during my late visit to the United States. This state of things can not last always. The Baptist missions will probably pass into the hands of other denominations, or be temporarily suspended; and those who have occupied the van will fall back into the rear."

While the mission was endangered by the course of the authorities in Rangoon, Mrs. Judson and the chil-

dren were taken ill, and he was unable to pursue his work, on account of personal affliction, for some six weeks. In the midst of these troubles, the Boodhist Lent occurred, in consequence of which it became almost impossible to procure animal food of any description. All, however, had greatly improved in health by the end of July. The hope of proceeding to Ava was disappointed; the prospect of usefulness in Rangoon discouraging; and Mr. Judson determined to return to Maulmain. He reached that place September 5th.

He wrote as follows on the 19th of that month: "I remained in Rangoon long enough to witness the removal of my friend, the governor, and the downfall of the ferocious vice-governor, who had become the terror of all classes, and particularly distinguished himself by carrying out the proscription of the Christian religion. I prolonged my stay a little, in order to ascertain the disposition of the new governor; but in that I found nothing but discouragement. He very soon gave several proofs of strict adherence to the established religion; his reception of me was extremely cold and reserved; and when I mentioned my desire of proceeding to Ava, at some future time, he did not even reply. I think, however, he would not oppose that measure; but in present circumstances, for reasons mentioned in my last, it is impracticable."

As there was a numerous force of missionaries at Maulmain, Mr. Judson determined to devote his time chiefly to an effort to finish the dictionary. Though he did not take full charge of the church again, yet he resolved to preach occasionally in the native chapel, one sermon at least every Lord's day, and attend to such other missionary work as might be given him

to do. Such were his pursuits till near the end of his days.

Our missionary thus wrote concerning a pleasing service, May 21st, 1848: "I have just returned from the Burmese chapel, where I have been endeavoring to do something analogous to what I suppose many ministers are doing before their respective churches on this the first Sabbath subsequent to the annual meeting of the Union. I improved the occasion to impress on my hearers their obligations to the Christians in America for having sustained this mission through the long period of thirty-five years, and not this mission only, but missions throughout the world; so that there are, at present, above a thousand American missionaries of different denominations scattered over the habitable globe. It is true that the relative position of the parties would not allow them to manifest their gratitude in such a manner as the Christians of Macedonia and Achaia manifested their gratitude to the poor brethren in Jerusalem (Rom. xv. 26, 27); but they could be convinced of their obligations, they could ponder on them, and converse about them, until their hearts burned with gratitude and love to their American brethren, and to the Saviour, the Lord of missions. They could, though separated by wide oceans, meet at the same throne of grace; and, though they could not extend their own hands in kindness, they could open that hand which is replete with every good and perfect gift, and cause a shower of blessings to descend on their distant benefactors. They could gladden their hearts, and the heart of their Saviour, by living according to the precepts of the holy religion which had been sent them; and is there any thing sweeter and nobler in this world than to gladden the

hearts of our benefactors, especially of our great Benefactor, who laid down his life for us? And, lastly, they could second the intentions of their American brethren by making every effort to spread the Gospel around them. 'Freely ye have received; freely give.'

"I never had a more attentive audience. May God bless the feeble effort, and the efforts of my brethren during the past week, in drawing into closer union the far-separated members of Christ's body, until we become one in him forevermore."

In September, 1848, we find him again entertaining the project of removing to Ava. His thoughts on the subject are unfolded in the following extract: "The preparation of the English and Burmese part of my dictionary is so far advanced, that I hope to commence printing a small edition next month, preparatory to a larger and uniform edition of both parts, when the Burmese and English part is completed. But as I advance in the latter part, I feel more deeply the desirableness and importance of making a visit to Ava, and availing myself of the learned men and the literary works that are to be found at the capital alone. The government interpreter of Rangoon, who greatly befriended me during my visit to that place last year, lately wrote me that he hoped that I would bear in mind the necessity of going to Ava before I printed the work, and that if I did not, it would be impossible for me to make it what it ought to be. I presume that no person, acquainted with the circumstances of the case, would dissent from that opinion. But the difficulty of penetrating into the country, and staying long enough to improve the dictionary, is very great, while the importance of the undertaking will appear still greater if some view be had to the welfare of the scat-

tered church, and the necessity of conciliating the government, and obtaining, if possible, some religious toleration."

How painfully the disappointment of the previous year weighed on his mind another paragraph shows: "When last in Rangoon, I lost a favorable opportunity, such as may not occur once in a hundred years. The governor of Rangoon was the very last of my old court acquaintances; and he was ready to clear my way to Ava, by a letter of introduction, into the very presence of the king. But I had no money to buy a boat, pay the boatmen, and defray the other inevitable expenses of the undertaking, nor even to pay my house rent in Rangoon; and so I was obliged to return to this place. The committee have since kindly defrayed the debt contracted on the latter account; but that is all. I suppose they thought with me, that such a good opportunity would never occur again, and that no benefit would result from lamenting over the past, or providing for the future—a future so utterly impossible."

Though there was so little reason to expect another opportunity to occur, yet he was able to write: "There is, however, at the present moment, a small prospect in the horizon, which may, in a few months, disclose an open path to Ava. If such should be the case, the committee, as well as myself, would regret that my hands were still left tied, and another opportunity be irretrievably lost. I request, therefore, that they will take into immediate consideration the question of appropriating a sum—say one thousand rupees—to defray the expenses of such an undertaking as I speak of; and they may depend I shall render, as in former times, a minute, and I hope satisfactory, account of the way in which the money shall be expended."

On receipt of this request the Executive Committee made the necessary appropriation for the purpose desired; but by the time he received information of their action, substantial reasons presented themselves for deferring his visit. A letter from the corresponding secretary, dated Maulmain, August 28th, 1849, says: "As you see from the date, I am still at Maulmain. Before receiving yours of the 20th of February last, with the appropriation for the expenses of a journey to Ava, the 'small prospect in the horizon,' mentioned in mine of the September preceding, had passed away; and since that, nothing encouraging has occurred. Were it not, however, for the following reason, I should prosecute my first intention; for so far as a *mere journey* to Ava is concerned, I know of no obstacle in the way of any foreigner who wishes to proceed thither. Just as I had finished the English and Burmese part of the dictionary, at the close of last year, and was about commencing the Burmese and English part, Providence sent me, without my seeking, an excellent Burmese scholar, once a priest at Ava, and recommended by a gentleman quite competent to appreciate his qu'ifications—since deceased—as 'the most profound scholar he had ever met with.' I took him at once into my employ, and his aid, united with that of my two other assistants, proves to be invaluable, and, in my opinion, obviates much of the necessity of going to Ava, *so far as the dictionary is concerned.*"

"Considering, therefore, the uncertainty of life, and the state of my manuscripts, so effaced by time, or so erased and interlined as to be illegible to any other person but myself, I have thought it was my duty to forego, for the present, what I can not but regard as an interesting expedition, in order to drive forward

the heavy work of the dictionary in the most satisfactory manner, and without increasing the hazard of any serious interruption; *provided always*, that in the mean time nothing particularly encouraging in the direction of Ava should occur."

The friendships which Mr. Judson formed while in the United States it was his delight to keep alive by correspondence. The following, while it exhibits to the reader the general character of his communications, is of value as presenting some particulars about the dictionary.

TO THE REV. A. D. GILLETTE.

MAULMAIN, *October* 21, 1849.

DEAR BROTHER GILLETTE—I hope dear wife keeps up correspondence with you and yours properly; however, I feel as if it would do my heart good to write you a letter myself. How glad I should be to step into your home, and spend an evening with you and dear Mrs. Gillette; it seems to me that I should enjoy your company far more than when I was with you.

I should like very much to have you find a spare hour, and sit down and tell me about your family, and church, and brother clergymen in Philadelphia, and particularly those individuals that I knew. I suppose death has been at work there as well as everywhere else. I am glad to hear that your University affairs are well settled, and that brother Kincaid is coming out again, especially as that will release me from the obligation to go to Ava.

Emily's health is delicate; her hold on life is very precarious; yet she may live on many, many years. She has already outlived several whose health was much more robust; and while she does live she will be a blessing to us all, whether near or remote. I never cease to thank God that I found her, accidentally as it were, under your roof.

I am still hard at work on the dictionary, and shall be for more than a year to come, *if I live so long*. The work will make two volumes quarto, containing above a thousand pages. No one can tell what toil it has cost me; but I trust it will be a valuable and standard work for a long time. It sweetens all toil to be conscious that that we are laboring for the King of kings, the Lord of lords. I doubt not we find it so, whether in Maulmain or in Philadelphia.

Most affectionately yours, A. JUDSON.

Expressions which indicate an impression of nearness to the eternal world are very frequent in his journals and correspondence. Perhaps when he wrote, "if I live so long," in the letter the reader has now perused, he entertained no more than his ordinary conviction of the uncertainty of life; but the thought was never more appropriately entertained. The dictionary he was not to see completed; only a part of the English and Burmese section did he see printed; while of the other—the Burmese and English—he was only permitted to finish about one half. About a month from the writing of the above letter he sat at his study-table for the last time.

An incident which Mr. Ranney mentions is in order here. "An application had been made," he says, "for rebuilding each of our dwellings, which are contiguous—his, because of the alleged unhealthfulness of its position and construction, and mine because of its decay. I recollect of saying, that I was almost sorry that the application had been made, for that in almost every case, when a missionary had got all things around him to his liking, something had occurred to mar or take away his anticipated enjoyments. 'I have thought of that,' brother Judson replied, 'and it has deterred me from saying much about a new house. It is on this account that I have left the matter in the hands of the brethren, to do as they think best about it.'"

He was soon to remove to the habitation of the saints, and, having always labored as under the eye of the Great Taskmaster, was to join those who, while they serve God, see his face.

Chapter Eighteenth.

THE CALL HOME.

"To die is gain."—PHIL. i. 21.

THE agents of death are often present when least suspected. By our subject and his friends there was little thought that a sudden call in the night to the room of one of his children was to lead to his own decease. But it was even so. Near the end of the month of September, 1849, he contracted a cold by this means, which, though regarded as trifling, and not even allowed to interrupt his studies, conduced greatly to an attack of fever in November, from which he never recovered.

In January, 1850, he was so far convalescent as to be able to take a trip to Mergui by the steamer, and it was hoped, on his return to Maulmain, that the change had been beneficial; but in a short time he declined again. Upon this it was proposed for him to make a change by going to Amherst. But no change of habitation could give deliverance from the resistless power which seemed to be following him, and he became more debilitated. In February he returned to Maulmain, and it was thought best by his physician that he should take a lengthened voyage. On the 21st of the month he wrote the corresponding secretary of the Missionary Union: "I can not manage a pen, so

please to excuse pencil. I have been prostrated with fever ever since the latter part of last November, and have suffered so much that I have frequently remarked that I was never ill in India before. Through the mercy of God, I think I am convalescent for the last ten days; but the doctor and all my friends are very urgent that I should take a sea voyage of a month or two, and be absent from this a long time. May God direct in the path of duty. My hand is failing, so I will beg to remain," etc.

At the time this note was written, there was no vessel in port whose destination was sufficiently remote, and as his house was pronounced unhealthy, he made a change of habitation, which proved beneficial. But in a short time it became evident that a voyage was indispensable. According to a letter of Mrs. Judson's, published in the *Macedonian* and *Missionary Magazine*, this course was greatly opposed to his own wishes. The account of the few days preceding his embarkation is here inserted:

"'Oh, if it were only the will of God to take me now—to let me die here!' he repeated over and over again, in a tone of anguish, while we were considering the subject. 'I can not, can not go! This is almost more than I can bear! Was there ever suffering like our suffering?' and the like broken expressions, were continually falling from his lips. But he soon gathered more strength of purpose, and after the decision was fairly made he never hesitated for a moment, rather regarding the prospect with pleasure. I think the struggle which this resolution cost injured him very materially, though probably it had no share in bringing about the final result. God, who saw the end from the beginning, had counted out his days, and they were hastening to a close. Until this time he had been able to stand, and to walk slowly from room to room; but as he one evening attempted to rise from his chair, he was suddenly deprived of his small remnant of muscular strength, and would have fallen to the floor but for timely support.

"From that moment his decline was rapid. As he lay helplessly upon his couch, and watched the swelling of his feet, and other alarm-

ing symptoms, he became very anxious to commence his voyage, and I felt equally anxious to have his wishes gratified. I still hoped he might recover; the doctor said the chances of life and death were, in his opinion, equally balanced. And then he always loved the sea so dearly! There was something exhilarating to him in the motion of a vessel, and he spoke with animation of getting free from the almost suffocating atmosphere incident to the hot season, and drinking in the fresh sea breezes. He talked but little more, however, than was necessary to indicate his wants, his bodily sufferings being too great to allow of conversation; but several times he looked up to me with a bright smile, and exclaimed, as heretofore, 'Oh, the love of Christ! the love of Christ!'

"I found it difficult to ascertain, from expressions casually dropped from time to time, his real opinion with regard to his recovery; but I thought there was some reason to doubt whether he was fully aware of his critical situation. I did not suppose he had any preparation to make at this late hour, and I felt sure that, if he should be called ever so unexpectedly, he would not enter the presence of his Maker with a ruffled spirit; but I could not bear to have him go away without knowing how doubtful it was whether our next meeting would not be in eternity; and perhaps, too, in my own distress, I might still have looked for words of encouragement and sympathy to a source which had never before failed.

"It was late in the night, and I had been performing some little sick-room offices, when suddenly he looked up to me, and exclaimed, 'This will never do. You are killing yourself for me, and I will not permit it. You must have some one to relieve you. If I had not been made selfish by suffering, I should have insisted upon it long ago.'

"He spoke so like himself, with the earnestness of health, and in a tone to which my ear had of late been a stranger, that for a moment I felt almost bewildered with sudden hope. He received my reply to what he had said with a half-pitying, half-gratified smile; but in the mean time his expression had changed—the marks of excessive debility were again apparent, and I could not forbear adding, 'It is only a little while, you know.' 'Only a little while,' he repeated mournfully; 'this separation is a bitter thing, but it does not distress me now as it did—I am too weak.' 'You have no reason to be distressed,' I answered, 'with such glorious prospects before you. You have often told me it is the one left alone who suffers, not the one who goes to be with Christ.' He gave me a rapid questioning glance, then assumed for several moments an attitude of deep thought. Finally he slowly unclosed his eyes, and fixing them on me, said, in a calm, earnest

tone, 'I do not believe I am going to die. I think I know why this illness has been sent upon me; I needed it; I feel that it has done me good; and it is my impression that I shall now recover, and be a better and more useful man.'

"'Then it is your wish to recover?' I inquired. 'If it should be the will of God, yes. I should like to complete the dictionary, on which I have bestowed so much labor, now that it is so nearly done; for though it has not been a work that pleased my taste, or quite satisfied my feelings, I have never underrated its importance. Then, after that, come all the plans that we have formed. Oh, I feel as if I were only just beginning to be prepared for usefulness.'

"'It is the opinion of most of the mission,' I remarked, 'that you will not recover.' 'I know it is,' he replied, 'and I suppose they think me an old man, and imagine it is nothing for one like me to resign a life so full of trials. But I am not old—at least in that sense; you know I am not. Oh, no man ever left this world with more inviting prospects, with brighter hopes or warmer feelings—warmer feelings,' he repeated, and burst into tears. His face was perfectly placid, even while the tears broke away from the closed lids, and rolled, one after another, down to the pillow. There was no trace of agitation or pain in his manner of weeping, but it was evidently the result of acute sensibilities, combined with great physical weakness. To some suggestions which I ventured to make, he replied, 'It is not that—I know all that, and feel it in my inmost heart. Lying here on my bed, when I could not talk, I have had such views of the loving condescension of Christ, and the glories of heaven, as I believe are seldom granted to mortal man. It is not because I shrink from death that I wish to live; neither is it because the ties that bind me here—though some of them are very sweet—bear any comparison with the drawings I at times feel toward heaven; but a few years would not be missed from my eternity of bliss, and I can well afford to spare them, both for your sake and for the sake of the poor Burmans. I am not tired of my work, neither am I tired of the world; yet when Christ calls me home I shall go with the gladness of a boy bounding away from his school. Perhaps I feel something like the young bride, when she contemplates resigning the pleasant associations of her childhood for a yet dearer home—though only a very little like her, for *there is no doubt resting on my future*.' 'Then death would not take you by surprise,' I remarked, 'if it should come even before you could get on board ship?' 'Oh, no,' he said; 'death will never take me by surprise—do not be afraid of that—I feel *so strong in Christ*. He has not led me so tenderly thus far to forsake me at the very gate of heaven. No, no; I am willing to live a few years longer, if it should be so ordered; and if otherwise, I am

willing and glad to die now. I leave myself entirely in the hands of God, to be disposed of according to his holy will.'

"'The next day some one mentioned, in his presence, that the native Christians were greatly opposed to the voyage, and that many other persons had a similar feeling with regard to it. I thought he seemed troubled, and after the visitor had withdrawn I inquired if he still felt as when he conversed with me the night previous. He replied, 'Oh, yes; that was no evanescent feeling. It has been with me, to a greater or less extent, for years, and will be with me, I trust, to the end. I am ready to go *to-day*—if it should be the will of God, this very hour; but I am not *anxious* to die; at least when I am not beside myself with pain.'

"'Then why are you so desirous to go to sea? I should think it would be a matter of indifference to you.' 'No,' he answered quietly, 'my judgment tells me it would be wrong not to go; the doctor says *criminal*. I shall certainly die here; if I go away I may possibly recover. There is no question with regard to duty in such a case; and I do not like to see any hesitation, even though it springs from affection.'"

With regard to the sea voyage, Mr. Ranney, who was deputed by the members of the mission to accompany him, says: "We all thought his case critical long before he did, and urged a sea voyage, but he preferred to wait, saying he would go when he thought there was danger. There was a sudden change for the worse in his case, which alarmed him, when he sent for me, and wanted to go to sea immediately. In anticipation of this, I had kept myself advised of the vessels in port, and on telling him that no ship would leave in less than nine days, he turned away his face and wept; but presently replied, 'The Lord's will be done; it will be all right.'"

Through the kindness of Captain Lawford, commandant of artillery, a palanquin and bearers took Mr. Judson on board the Aristidie Marie, bound for the Isle of France, on Wednesday, the 3d of April. As it seemed desirable to get out to sea as speedily as possible, an order was given by the civil commis-

sioner to have the vessel towed out of the river by a steamer bound southward with troops; but the military commander contended that the right of the commissioner to give directions concerning the vessel ceased when the troops were placed on board; and on the ground that taking a vessel in tow might endanger the safety of the forces, refused to allow the order to be executed. Instead of getting to sea in twenty-four hours, as had been anticipated, five days were occupied, and it was not till six days after the vessel sailed from Maulmain that the pilot left her.

"The delay," says Mr. Ranney, whose account, as slightly condensed for the *Missionary Magazine*, we follow, "permitted Mrs. Judson (who would gladly have accompanied her husband, though at the hazard of her life, if he had consented), and Mr. Stilson, and Mr. and Mrs. Stevens to visit him repeatedly, and minister to his comfort. He bore the fatigue of embarkation very well, and on Thursday took more refreshment than for several days previous. This gave hope of a favorable change; but on Friday he was not as well, and his two Burmese assistants, Ko En and Ko Shway Doke, disciples of many years' standing, who remained on board till the pilot left the vessel, requested that he might be taken back to Maulmain. They were confident he was near his end, and could not endure the thought of his burial in the ocean; they wanted his grave to be made where they and the other disciples could look upon it. But any attempt to do this would have proved fatal, and there was no choice but to fulfill their original purpose, Mr. Stilson reminding the affectionate disciples of the death and unknown burial-place of Moses.

"On Saturday he was perceptibly weaker. Such was his pain that he said he would willingly die, if he could. On Sunday, being more calm and free from pain, he conversed freely and more at length than he had been able to do, describing somewhat minutely the causes of his pain. He said that no one could conceive the intensity of his sufferings. Death would have been a glad relief. The idea of death caused no peculiar emotion of either fear or transport. His mind was so affected by suffering that he could not think, or even pray. Nay, he could not think of his wife and family. He had bitter sorrow in parting with them at first; but in Mrs. Judson's subsequent visit, speech had been almost denied him; and when they parted the day before, perhaps the last time on earth, it was without a word, and almost without a thought, so

entirely had pain absorbed every faculty. Yet he felt he had nothing to complain of. He knew it was the will of God, and therefore right. Alluding to the swelling of his feet, he said, 'The natives are frightened when they see this. They regard it as a sure sign of approaching death; but I do not. I have talked with the doctor about this, and have myself remarked, at different times, the swelling and subsiding. I still feel that there is so much of life in me that I shall recover.'

"On Monday, the 6th, at half-past three o'clock, P.M., the pilot, with the two assistants above named, and Moung Shway-moung, of the Amherst church, left the ship. At the request of Dr. Judson, Mr. Ranney wrote to Mrs. Judson his opinion of himself that 'he went out to sea with a strong feeling that he should recover.' But on the same day the violence of his pains returned, and his left side was swollen much, from which he gained partial relief. On Tuesday morning, the Tenasserim coast being yet visible, they enjoyed a fresh and invigorating breeze; but a violent thunder-storm came on, followed by a calm. For a short time Dr. Judson suffered less pain; but a hiccough increased upon him. He said, 'This hiccough is killing me; can you think of any thing to do for it?' He afterward slept considerably, and took some slight refreshment; but in the afternoon a new symptom appeared, which continued to the last—frequent vomiting, and an inability to retain any thing upon his stomach.

"During the night and the next day the weather was exceedingly hot. Dr. Judson refused all nourishment, and inclined to sleep, probably on account of the laudanum and ether administered. He said he should weary them but little longer. The captain gave several prescriptions without effect; on which he said, 'It is of little consequence. I do not wish any one to think I died because all was not done that could be done for me. Medicine is of no use. The disease will take its course.' While suffering the acute pain which invariably preceded vomiting, he said, 'O that I could die at once, and go immediately into paradise, where there is no pain!'

"On the evening of Wednesday, as Mr. Ranney was sitting by his bedside, he said, 'I am glad you are here. I do not feel so abandoned. You are my only kindred now—the only one on board who loves Christ, I mean; and it is a great comfort to have one near me who loves Christ.' 'I hope,' said Mr. Ranney, 'you feel that Christ is now near, sustaining you.' 'Oh, yes,' he replied, '*it is all right there*. I believe he gives me just so much pain and suffering as is necessary to fit me to die—to make me submissive to his will.' The captain—who spoke but little English, but took unwearied pains to make himself understood by a frequent resort to a French and English dictionary, and was a pattern of kindness and benevolence—offered another prescription; but

Dr. Judson thanked him, and declined. He spoke of the invigorating influence of the wind, and expressed a fear that they would lose it during the night; which proved true. After midnight there was a dead calm, and a very oppressive atmosphere. At two o'clock his breathing became very difficult; but afterward he breathed more freely.

"On Thursday morning his eyes had a dull appearance, remained half closed while sleeping, and seemed glassy and death-like. His stomach rejected all refreshment. At ten and twelve o'clock he took some ether, which he said did him good. After vomiting, with the suffering which preceded it, he said, 'Oh, how few there are who suffer such great torment—who die so hard! During all the night his sufferings increased, so that it was inexpressibly painful to behold his agony—sometimes calling for water, which gave relief only while he was drinking it, to be followed by the pain of rejecting it. At midnight he said his fever had returned. His extremities were cold, his head hot. It was the fever of death. His weakness was such that he now seldom spoke, except to indicate some want, which he more frequently did by signs.

"During the forenoon of Friday, the 12th, his countenance was that of a dying man. About noon he showed some aberration of mind; but it was only transient. At three o'clock he said, in Burman, to Panapah, a native servant, 'It is done; I am going.' Shortly after he made a sign with his hand downward, which was not understood; drawing Mr. Ranney's ear close to his mouth, he said convulsively, 'Brother Ranney, will you bury me? bury me?—quick! quick!' These words were prompted, perhaps, by the thought of burial in the sea crossing his mind. Mr. Ranney here being called out for a moment, Mr. Judson spoke to the servant in English, and also in Burman, of Mrs. Judson, bidding him 'take care of poor mistress;' and at fifteen minutes past four o'clock he breathed his last. 'His death,' says Mr. Ranney, 'was like falling asleep. Not the movement of a muscle was perceptible, and the moment of the going out of life was indicated only by his ceasing to breathe. A gentle pressure of the hand, growing more and more feeble as life waned, showed the peacefulness of the spirit about to take its homeward flight.'"

Thus it will be seen, as Dr. Hague has eloquently observed, "the manner of his death was in keeping with the sublime spirit and style of his life, and sheds a luster over the retrospect of his whole career, just as the setting sun flings back his splendors over the eastern sky, gilding every cloud and mountain height of the

Graves of the Judsons.

broad landscape with a mild, celestial glory." The officers of the ship had but little knowledge of the man, and when called into the cabin to dinner, were not aware of what was transpiring. Soon, however, as they knew, "they gathered about the door, and watched the closing scene with solemn reverence." It is no wonder we should find that when they had witnessed his calm and triumphant departure, they "stole softly from the door, and the neglected meal was left upon the table untasted."

It was found necessary to make preparations for the burial the same evening. A coffin having been made of some plank, the body was laid within it, and several buckets of sand poured in to insure its sinking. These humble preparations being completed at eight o'clock in the evening, the crew assembled on deck, the larboard port was opened, and perfect silence reigned till the captain gave the word of command to commit the body to the deep.

> "One sudden plunge, and the scene is o'er,
> The sea rolls on as it rolled before."

Thus, in latitude thirteen degrees north, and longitude ninety-three degrees east, Adoniram Judson found an ocean grave. How truly were his own words illustrated: "How little the missionary who leaves his native land can calculate on his final resting place!" It was not his lot to be laid in his fathers' sepulchers, or beside either of the noble and heroic women over whose graves he had wept. He was removed in death, both from the "hopia tree" and the "rock of the ocean," but it is the blessed consolation of those who remain, that when his spirit passed from earth he joined the beloved ones who had preceded him at once.

The death of our subject, with only one of his countrymen to attend him, and his burial where no stone can be erected to show that a pilgrim of earth sleeps beneath, is not according to human desires. But the bodies of several American and European missionaries have been deposited in an ocean grave. The fact that the burial-place of Moses was unknown, has already been alluded to. If the sepulcher of him who was permitted to record the revelations of God's will was thus hidden, need we wonder that those whose privilege it has been to unlock the full treasures of Divine truth to benighted nations, now should have their graves far removed from them? It is worthy of remark that, only five years before Mr. Judson's decease, the remains of another eminent translator, his friend, Dr. Yates, were committed like his own to the keeping of the sea. And who would desire the eulogizing epitaphs of men for those whose work is so durable? Who would wish for marbled honors for Burmah's great missionary? For him it matters not that the ever-changing flood admits not of monuments for the dead she keeps. He has a monument on the land in his achievements for Christ, which is imperishable. Long as ocean shall retain its dirge-like tones, shall men delight to contemplate and speak of his toils and heroism; and, best of all, when there shall be no more sea, his name will be found written in the Lamb's book of life.

The universal sorrow occasioned wherever Mr. Judson had been known, when intelligence was received of his decease, it would be vain to attempt to describe. By the churches of Burmah and by his associates his death was especially felt as a calamity. Scarcely less sensibly was the loss the church on earth had sustain-

ed realized by those by whom he was less known. In Calcutta, the press, under directions of members of various denominations, vied in recording its estimate of his extraordinary worth, while in his native land notices appeared in the periodicals of nearly every section of Christians, expressive of deep respect for his memory. So numerous, and so generally alike were these in the excellence of their spirit, that it would be invidious to select any from the number.

Most of the ministers of the denomination of which Mr. Judson had been so distinguished an ornament, felt impelled to deliver discourses by which they might direct their congregations to recognize the glory of that grace which was so conspicuous in his course. In the conventions and associations of the denomination resolutions expressive of the respect felt for his memory were generally adopted.

The services which Mr. Judson had rendered as a translator impressed the Board of Managers of the American and Foreign Bible Society with the importance of a service by which the appreciation in which he was held on this account might be testified. A commemorative discourse was accordingly delivered in the Tabernacle church, by the Rev. R. Babcock, D. D.

At the annual meeting of the Missionary Union, held in the same month at Boston, the remembrance of this bereavement proved most solemnizing, and prompted special exercises. According to the request of the Executive Committee, the preacher of the annual discourse, the Rev. William Hague, D. D., made his life and character the theme of his discourse. This interesting service will never be forgotten by those whose privilege it was to be among the immense crowd which gathered in the former Tremont Temple.

The character and end of Mr. Judson were calculated to prove suggestive to those who have a faculty of verse; and it may be believed that veneration and love for his name prompted those who employed their numbers on hearing of his decease. The following stanzas first appeared in the *New York Recorder:*

THE BURIAL OF JUDSON.

Weep, Burmah, weep, let thy tear fountains deep
Be unsealed in this hour of thy sorrow;
Shroud thee to-day in thy sable array,
And the cypress tree plant on the morrow.

Plant it beside the blue ocean's tide,
That, o'er his clay tenement rolling,
Bears to thy shore and mingles its roar
With the funeral bell that is tolling.

Weep, Burmah, weep, he is sleeping that sleep,
Which, in time, never knoweth a waking;
All his work is now done, and the prize hath he won,
And the conqueror's rest he is taking.

Precious dust hath he laid 'neath the hopia's shade,
Precious dust in the "rock of the ocean;"
Oh, could he not rest in sepulture so blest
As the field of his pure self-devotion!

Nay, earth may not claim to graven his name
On her columns above where he lies;
Let his sepulcher be the blue marble sea,
Like his home, the blue azure skies.

Calm roll the wave o'er his watery grave
And soft blow the breezes o'er it;
Unknown let it be in the depths of the sea,
Lest, unconscious, we bow and adore it.

So shall he sleep in the arms of the deep,
And angels watch o'er his sleeping,
Till the grave of the just shall yield up their trust,
And the ocean the treasure he's keeping. G. W. G

The following lines from another pen ought not to be omitted:

"Deep in the ocean wave, in coral bed,
The hero of a hundred battles sleeps;
Above his watery tomb no prayer is said,
But round the sinking form the billow sweeps.

Far down where mighty monsters howling dwell,
In seaweed for his shroud, the Christian lies;
No marble mausoleum the spot doth tell,
No willow weeps, no heathen convert cries.

But o'er that watery grave the angels keep
Their ceaseless vigils; and the stars of night
Look down, with tenderness, upon the sleep
Of him who waketh not to pray or fight.

The funeral dirge is sung in every land,
By men of every age, and tribe, and tongue;
The wild Karen, the rescued Burman band,
With paler men, the mournful lyre have strung.

Howl on, ye winds, and wildly moan, ye breath;
Ye heard his sigh, ye bore to heaven his prayer;
As from this world of sorrow, sin, and death,
He turned to one more beautiful and fair."

Chapter Nineteenth.

CONCLUSION.

"Being such an one as Paul the aged."—PHILEMON i. 9.

THOSE whose privilege it was to see Mr. Judson when he visited his native land have a portrait of him in the cabinet of memory, which supersedes reliance upon a biographer. Others may be glad to picture him from such description as we can give. In person he was of medium height. His countenance was full and flushed; his features prominent, while the whole gave the beholder an impression of great firmness and intrepidity, blended with a remarkable degree of mildness and humility. His hair to the last retained its auburn hue, scarcely a trace of gray being discoverable. In his movements there was an elasticity exhibited by few men of his years. In his person there was always the most scrupulous neatness.

In the most intimate relation of life, Mr. Judson was highly favored, and in it he exhibited those virtues of character which won admiration from all who were privileged to have his acquaintance. Mrs. Ann H. Judson, in writing to her sister on their outward voyage, said: "I find Mr. Judson one of the kindest, most faithful, and affectionate of husbands." From this opinion there is no reason to suppose that she ever receded. Mrs. Sarah B. Judson, long after her marriage, declared her husband "a complete assemblage of all

that a woman's heart could wish to love and honor." It is worthy of remark, that though he thrice entered into the marriage relation, that he never seemed to lose any of his affection for those of whom he had been bereaved. There is something exquisitely touching, as when departing from Tavoy with his second consort, he breathed his prayer that the memory of her first husband might be "ever fresh and fragrant as the memory of the other beloved, whose beautiful death-marred form reposes at the foot of the hopia tree." So, again, as we find him with his third companion beside him, the desire he expressed to visit and weep at the grave on St. Helena beautifully exhibits this feature of his character. For his children he entertained a deep affection, while his concern for their salvation was ever a prominent topic in his correspondence with them. Contrary to many who are engaged in the ministry of the word, he seemed desirous to lead his sons to contemplate that service as the most desirable on earth.

His social intercourse was intrinsically interesting. In his commemorative discourse, Dr. Hague says, that "the delicate traits of character are rarely found in intimate union with the gentler virtues, with that childlike tenderness, that genial sympathy, that nice regard to the sensibilities of others, which throw a charm around the scenes of home and the circles of friendship. We are never surprised to learn that these are utterly wanting in men of iron sinew, formed for daring and endurance. Just as when we have gazed on some lofty mountain that towers sublimely to the skies, it seems not strange if, on a close survey, the fine proportions and the beauty of outline shall have vanished, so that we can touch nothing but rugged rocks

and tangled thickets. But to find the ascent of an Alpine height enriched with fruits and flowers, with sheltering vines, refreshing springs, and singing birds, must fill the breast of every beholder with a sentiment of pleasing wonder. A kindred emotion has doubtless been awakened in the hearts of those who have long contemplated Mr. Judson from a distant point of view, and have afterward been favored with opportunities of personal intercourse. Then it has been seen that the elements of his character were nicely balanced, that his social affections were commensurate with his intellectual powers, and that his many-sided mind filled a wide sphere of being."

Intellectually, the endowments of Mr. Judson were remarkable. Possessed of a lofty and richly poetic imagination, he had at the same time a judgment of most thorough precision. A thirst for knowledge distinguished him in childhood and attended him to old age. A test of a "truly great man," as set forth by competent authority, is, "that his thoughts should become things in instantaneous acts, and not mere speculations and abstractions perpetually theorizing but never doing." By this test our subject might be tried with satisfaction. Sagacious in forming his plans he was ever self-reliant enough to put them in execution. He was a man for action, and could never have been satisfied with a contracted sphere. Nor did he wait for favoring impulses from without. From the beginning he looked to his own endeavors as the means of progress, and no matter what the object he set before himself, when he gave it his attention, he threw his whole soul into it. Possessed of invincible determination, with a memory of great retentiveness, and a mind remarkably methodical, it is evident he would have gained dis-

tinction had his other qualities been less brilliant. The versatility of his powers has been often remarked. Although when he became a missionary he resolved to abjure his native tongue, yet his compositions in English are characterized by rare simplicity and consequent beauty seldom attained. Many of his letters are models of the epistolary art. As a preacher he might have occupied in his native land one of the highest positions. While yet a student, the discerning mind of the eloquent Griffin was fixed upon him for his colleague in Boston. In his perilous position as the envoy of a fierce and reckless nation he was able so to discharge his trust that its king desired to retain him in his service, while he won unqualified praise from the British powers. So well did he adapt himself to every demand made upon him that it is difficult to conceive of any pursuit in which he would have held a second place.

As it was, and we may be thankful for it, it was the pleasure of God that he should be known chiefly as a missionary. The eminent qualifications he possessed in this calling are indisputable.

Piety is indispensable for a missionary. The description of Moses may be truthfully applied to Mr. Judson—he was a "man of God." His piety was formed in no common model. It sprung from intimate nearness and constant fellowship with the Son of God. More than most men, he was a man of prayer. In this respect he lived by rule. He presents an illustration of the truth which many fail to recognize, that a Christian life is to be sustained and promoted on the same principle that other undertakings prosper, and that in the spiritual life order and forethought rightly exercised lead to the noblest achievements.

In the promotion of piety he used some aids which others condemn. Persons who are alarmed at the least approach to popery, view all writings which Roman Catholics extol with suspicion. Nevertheless, Mr. Judson found in the works of Lady Guion, and kindred writers of that communion, productions which gave an insight into the heart, and an impulse to the desire of a holy life, which he could not discover in the generality of human conceptions. There have been frequent cases in which, to "satisfy their yearnings for something deeper, truer, and more peaceful, men have laid themselves in the bosoms of gloomy mysticism, or enwrapped themselves in the hair shirt of asceticism." It is perhaps not wonderful that one who dwelt remote oftentimes from Christian society, and who, at a time when he described himself and fellow-laborers as almost worn out and sinking one after another into the grave, while he felt he could say with truth, "Many of our brethren in Christ at home are just as hard and immovable as rocks, just as cold and repulsive as the mountains of ice in the polar seas," should have sought for himself a religious character more warm and life-like than he thought was commonly attained. He turned to such writings as have been indicated, and he found in them delineations of spiritual life more satisfactory than those presented by the churches of his age. It is the reproach of our Protestantism, that in some respects the members of communions which are based on error, by their conduct "contrast, alas, too often advantageously with the piety of the reformed churches. If the true root of holy living is not found in the church of the apostasy, none can deny that the fruits often bear a remarkable and striking resemblance to the genuine productions of sterling Christianity."

Mr. Judson did not despise the illustration such works gave of the spiritual life, but cultivated acquaintance with them, doubtless to the benefit of his own soul. His knowledge of the fact that those whose productions he studied had been involved in such fearful delusions, we believe, caused him to exercise a more holy jealousy for truthfulness and reality in his own religion. What in many might be only asceticism, was in him a work of the heart, and his lofty bearing in the vicissitudes through which he was called to pass, manifests how thoroughly his soul was influenced by the highest principles.

His piety is undeniable. It renders his correspondence fragrant. It was this which most especially impressed all who made his acquaintance when he visited the United States. The fervency and simple beauty of his petitions at the throne of grace were remarked in every family with whom he sojourned. His piety was so regal a principle that even childhood derived confidence from it. One of his little girls, whom he brought to the United States, when asked if she was not afraid when crossing the sea, seemed surprised at the question, and artlessly replied, "Father prayed for us."

In a character so generally attractive, it seems almost invidious to single out any excellence, yet no one familiar with his correspondence and journals can fail to be impressed with his humility. It is well known that, seeking no honor of man, he caused all his early letters to his personal friends to be destroyed. Though the senior of his associates in the mission, he never claimed to be their superior. When he was perfecting his translation of the Scriptures, he was ready and anxious to receive the criticism of his coadjutors; and

though remarkable for his steadfast maintenance of what he thought right, he could say, "Of several hundred suggestions, I have sooner or later adopted by far the greater part."

The humility of our subject was conspicuous through all his visit to his native land. In his addresses he seemed to desire to disclaim all praise for himself; he was certainly altogether unprepared for the honors which were showered upon him. In some cases, so little was he able to appreciate the deep feeling of respect entertained for him, that when it was expressed, he could scarcely regard it as other than flattery. Much that was said caused him pain and annoyance, which in some cases he found it impossible to conceal.

The integrity which marked our subject invites admiration. When he became a missionary, he resolved never in any way to regard his own worldly advantage. It was at his suggestion the board adopted a regulation, that if missionaries engaged in any secular service while in its employ, that the pecuniary results should pass into its treasury. His own magnanimous resolution to surrender thousands before it was adopted, marks him especially as one in whom was no guile. He was well aware that tidings of success would call forth augmented funds in his native land, but he was unwilling that the cheering side of the picture should be seen without its darker features. In transmitting his journal of one of his visits to the Karens, which, with interesting cases of conversion, recorded also instances of unfaithfulness in some native members, he appended a note expressing a sincere hope that it might neither be "suppressed nor polished."

Moral courage was indispensable to his mission. Of

the possession of this quality he gave remarkable proof before he entered the missionary field. When he proclaimed himself a candidate for labor among the heathen, an heroic spirit was required, to the exercise of which few are equal. When his convictions made him a Baptist, it was no small trial to make a public avowal of his renunciation of the faith of his fathers, and to close by his own hand the only door by which he could hope to receive support in his work. As we see him persecuted by the East India Company, we wonder to find him still holding fast his purpose to preach Christ among the Gentiles in Asia; and when at length we behold him, a solitary missionary, planting himself in the Burman empire, with the confidence that he could assail Boodhism, and supplant it by the religion of the Cross, we see one of the grandest exhibitions of holy daring. It was no trivial courage which was needed for him to remain in the Burman empire when he discovered fully the character of the opposition made to the Gospel; and more remarkable still was the moral courage of the man who resolved, though his head might be "ordered off," to go to the court of a sanguinary despot to plead for liberty of conscience for his subjects; and when he was frowned upon by the monarch, it seems wonderful that we should find him still abiding in Rangoon, though contemplating the possibility each day that the unscrupulous vengeance of the ruling powers might fall upon him. Other instances of a like nature will suggest themselves to the reader, all proving how eminently he possessed the elements of an heroic character.

In Mr. Judson there was an unwavering spirit of devotedness to the missionary calling. When he formed his purpose to be a missionary, it was without

contingencies; "at all events," he resolved to go to the heathen. Baptized *in* Asia, he seems to have felt that he was baptized *for* Asia. He was led by mysterious providences to embark for Burmah, and doubtless then came to the conclusion which he embodied in the articles of agreement between himself and his first associate: "We agree in opinion that our *sole* object on earth is to introduce the religion of Jesus into the empire of Burmah." It is scarcely necessary to say that from this opinion he never swerved. From the day he went on board the crazy old vessel at Madras, till the hour he was taken up, he knew no other end. In the language of Foster, concerning John Howard, he "had an inconceivable severity of conviction that he had *one thing to do*, and that he who would do some great thing in this short life must apply himself to the work with such a concentration of his forces, as to idle spectators, who live only to amuse themselves, looks like insanity."

It is scarcely necessary to remark that Mr. Judson had a strong spirit of faith. He waited upon God for results. Yet, from the beginning, his course was consistent with his expectations. He carefully considered his own duty, and on this formed his plans of action. When he went to Burmah he was impressed necessarily with the importance of acquiring the language of the people. He did not, however, satisfy himself with a smattering of knowledge, but determined to become thoroughly familiarized with the Burman tongue. To use his own words, before mentioned, he "deliberately abjured" his own language. When he "crossed the river," he "burned his ships." Every thing that tended to give him a more thorough acquaintance with the language of the Burmese he studied most carefully.

He had been in Rangoon but little more than four years when he took passage for Chittagong, and yet by that time, so proficient was he, that the governor of Cheduba, after hearing his first tract read, said, "You can not make me believe that a foreigner in so short a time has learned to write the language so well." His acquirements in this respect were a marvel to the people. A brother of the reigning monarch told Dr. Malcom that no man in the empire so well understood the Burmese language in all its capabilities. To the last day he was permitted to toil he continued his investigations. In the mere matter of forming the character of the language, Mr. Crawfurd states he excelled all whom he saw write it in Burmah.

In addition to the acquisition of the language he esteemed other agencies necessary for his purpose. Health was indispensable. To promote this he followed habits of daily exercise, which were never allowed to be set aside. Before and after his daily toils he set forth for his walks, and thus preserved to himself, in a far greater degree than might have been expected, the vigor he needed. Dr. Malcom says: "His care of his health was remarkable. It was a sacred and conscientious thing with him; not for the sake of comfort, for he constantly sacrificed comfort and love of ease for the sake of health. It was the unity of object so conspicuous in him. He wanted to husband all his powers and keep them in order. No man ever feared death less than he. It was his sovereign remedy for sorrow to think of death. But he *valued* life, and he used it as a steward. He never exposed himself to the sun or the night air. He would not cross his yard at mid-day without a great umbrella. I often sat with him in the evening shut up closely by mats at the windows, en-

during the discomfort sooner than risk the unwholesome but pleasant breeze."

Mr. Judson entertained a high estimate of the worth of time. Society, he found, would impede his purpose, and hence he only allowed himself such intercourse with his fellow-men as would contribute to his one great pursuit. From the English society in Maulmain he voluntarily withdrew himself. Even the company of his associates he allowed himself to enjoy but for a brief period each day. In his correspondence with his relatives and personal friends his letters were remarkably brief for a man living so remote. While many would eagerly peruse every periodical which could give them a glimpse of home, he only allowed himself a steady course of reading in one religious journal, and had to be assured that there was some article of special importance in others before he would read them. The delay in executing his work which must inevitably result from his absence was the sole cause of his declinature of the successive invitations he received to visit his native land. Though there was never a more affectionate husband, yet he was willing to suffer separation from a wife, in failing health, rather than leave his work. Thus did he manifest through life his estimate of time. Of him we may say, as Foster did of Howard, "I wonder what must have been the amount of that bribe in emolument or pleasure that would have detained him a week inactive!"

In his mode of promoting the work of his mission his plans were carefully formed. His great object evidently was to address men and women. To schools for children he was not averse, when they could be prosecuted without hindrance to the publication of the Gospel. He regarded them as an important, but, never-

theless, subordinate agency. In such efforts he rejoiced to see Christian females engaged, and had he seen the least hope of toleration, would have been desirous to have one of the female teachers open a school at Rangoon during his last visit. But he was not content to see a man, with skill to teach the people, setting himself down day after day to instruct children chiefly in the rudiments of the knowledge of this world, while thousands of adults were destitute of a knowledge of Christ.

He regarded it as essentially the business of a missionary to make use of the vernacular of the people. English preachers and preaching he considered by no means advisable, and in his correspondence speaks of such instrumentalities "as the bane of missions in the East." Those who engaged in such labors he believed were led to confine themselves almost exclusively to foreign residents or their descendants, while the pupils of English schools proved ill qualified to carry forward the work of evangelization among their own countrymen.

His preference for his personal service in the field was the preaching of the Gospel. In this he delighted through life. And in addressing the natives it may be believed that he had gained an elevation which his associates regarded as almost unapproachable. We can scarcely speak of him in the pulpit, for there was no such erection in the chapel where he was accustomed to meet his flock, according to the American idea; but of his appearance in the Sabbath services we have a limning by a female hand,* which all who remember his calm but earnest delivery will be ready to think a

* Mrs. Stevens.

life-like representation. "The native chapel is opposite the printing-office, which is just at the left of our house. Having ascended a high flight of steps, and passed across a wide veranda, we enter. At the head of the aisle a plain table, with an arm-chair at its side, upon a platform, raised eight or ten inches, forms the pulpit and its furniture. Your eyes rests on the venerable man occupying this station. Mr. Judson does indeed delight us everywhere, but especially here. His dress is very becoming—a plain black gown. This, and his spectacles thrown back, adds much to his look of dignity. With a pleasant voice he reads the hymns and portions of Scriptures to the natives seated before him. About half of these are on neat mats, the others on settees, like those on his right and left for the mission families, the males on one side, and the females on the other. After singing, which sounds most sweet to those who love to think of their change from the worship of senseless idols to the praise of the living and true God, Mr. Judson kneels for prayer. According to the custom of the country, he remains seated while preaching. His manner is exceedingly animated, almost too much so for his position.

The testimony Mr. Vinton gave in 1835 more than corroborates the remark made above, concerning the impressive character of the services Mr. Judson conducted: "The first Sabbath after our arrival we were privileged to hear the man whose praise is in all our American churches. True, he preached in Burman; but though I did not know the meaning of a single sentence he uttered, still my attention was never more closely riveted on any sermon I ever heard. Were I to fix upon any one characteristic of the preacher which, perhaps, more than any other, rendered his

discourse interesting and impressive, I should say it was *earnestness of manner*. It was impossible for any one to escape the conviction that his whole soul was in the work. Every tone, every look, every sentence, spoke out in the most emphatic language, to tell us that the man was seriously in earnest, and himself believed the truths he uttered. But what contributed not a little to the interest of the occasion, was the appearance of the assembly. Every hearer sat motionless, every eye was fixed immovably upon the preacher, and every countenance seemed to change with every varied expression of sentiment; now beaming forth joy, as though some joyous news from the other world had just reached them, which before had never gladdened their hearts; now depicting a feeling of anxiety, as though their immortal all, or that of their friends, was at stake; and next of deep solemnity, as though standing before their final Judge."

But according to his own phraseology, preaching was only "*one arm.*" He felt the distribution of the word of God of essential importance. This needed to be translated. To become a competent translator, varied attainments were necessary, and long sacrifices of comfort and ease were demanded. All that was needed of acquirements in the language, we have seen he possessed, and so thoroughly did he become familiarized with the advances and discoveries of modern biblical criticism, that when he visited his native land his attainments were the surprise of eminent Christian scholars, who had lived in the very exchanges of philological and sacred lore. If he had lived many years he would doubtless have revised the Burman Bible again; yet though it was the work of a single man, it may certainly be placed beside any version made in

the present century. So highly is it valued by several of the missionaries, that they prefer it to the version to which they have been accustomed from childhood. In testifying of the "high character of Mr. Judson's translation," Dr. Malcom says: "In every other mission I found more or less dissatisfaction with the local version; but this enjoys the applause and confidence of all who are versed in the tongue."

There are few names to which we can with justice apply the epithet "great." The catalogue of this world's great men is well called "short;" yet we believe that those who have familiarized themselves with the career of Adoniram Judson will not fear to place his name on the list. The circumstances in which he entered the missionary field were peculiar. He had the *prestige* of being one of the first American missionaries, and for several years the only ordained minister in the Burman empire. But is it too much to say that others might have had a like distinction, and have passed away from the field, while the world would never have heard of them? He had peculiar trials and sufferings, and these, it is true, lifted him into prominence; but such greatness is ephemeral. The sufferings endured more than a quarter of a century ago could not cause a man's name to be held in reverence now. Those who would seek for the secret of his greatness must look far beyond these things. The motive and end of his life must be understood, and his exhaustless faith and indomitable perseverance appreciated; and wherever this is the case, there will not be wanting those who will admit that when he gave up his spirit, a great man passed from earth.

It was Mr. Judson's honor to accomplish far more than he anticipated. It was given him, with others,

to awaken an interest in the American churches on the subject of missions which can never die. To him belongs especially the praise of calling the churches of the Baptist name to perceive the dignity and grandeur of the enterprise. These things were not, however, the main object of his pursuit. He regarded Burmah as the field where his work was to be done, and there, spite of obloquy and derision,* he labored to fulfill the errand to which he believed himself called. Many good men are allowed to arouse others to noble achievements in which they are not permitted themselves to engage. God has seemed to say, "It is well it was in thine heart;" but they have never been allowed to rear the edifice for his glory they desired. Not only did the Lord approve the purpose of Judson, but he permitted him to lay a broad and deep foundation for its accomplishment, and to see, while he remained upon the earth, the superstructure rise far higher than in his earlier years he had ever dared to hope. It was his, personally, to translate the Scriptures, to found churches, to gather hundreds into their fellowship, and to do much in raising an efficient native ministry. The effect of his noble and self-denying course, in leading others to consecrate themselves to the missionary work, and all the great and glorious successes

* It is difficult now to realize the opposition made to Christian missions at the period Mr. Judson commenced his labors. Even as late as 1825, in referring to the "History of the Burman Mission, by Mrs. Judson," the *Asiatic Journal* said, "the prospects of the mission were far from encouraging, for the Burmese are shrewd and subtile, and the American missionaries were apparently men of more piety than talent." Shortly after, the London *Quarterly Review*, in a notice of the same work, expressed itself "quite satisfied that followers of Calvin are little calculated anywhere, but least of all in the East, to make converts to Christianity!"

which have resulted from their efforts, is far beyond all human calculation. This can never be fully known till the consummation of all things. In this world his influence is imperishable. When centuries have passed away, men may say of him, in the words of the great dramatist, "Oh! thou art mighty yet—thy spirit walks abroad." The structure whose goodly basis he laid must rise higher and higher. The course of triumph and conquest he was permitted to begin can have no end till, according to his own noble words—worthy to be repeated again and again—"All Burmah" shall be filled "with songs of praise to our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

It is doubtless true that men are apt to magnify the worthies of their own party or sect. With regard to the estimate we have expressed concerning the subject of these records, it is a privilege to point to notices equally appreciative from members of other communions. We can not better conclude than by inserting here the just eulogy pronounced by a Scottish clergyman in Calcutta,* which says:

"He may indeed be called, truly and worthily, 'the Apostle of Burmah.' He labored in that country for thirty-seven years. He mastered its language, and made it his own, and smoothed its difficulties for his successors. He translated into the language of the people the whole Word of God, with such skill, patience, and judgment, that his version bids fair, in the opinion of competent judges, to be the standard Bible of Burmah. He made the first Burman converts, and gathered together the first Burman congregation of Christians; and, with full assurance that the good seed

* The Rev. Mr. Mackay, of the Free Church of Scotland.

had taken root, and would spring up vigorously in the land of his adoption, he died 'in his harness,' young in spirit, but ripe in years and honors. To me he has always stood out as the most remarkable man in the modern era of missions. Tried by every vicissitude of humanity, he came out like pure gold; chained in a dungeon, and face to face with the executioner, or swimming on the topmost wave of popularity, the idol of all that was holy and good in his native land; in the extremes of household happiness and household bereavements; driven again and again, as it seemed, for ever, from the mission field, or rejoicing over his little flock and his completed Bible; in the pulpit, on the platform, or in cheerful, social intercourse, Adoniram Judson was always true to his own high nature, combining the warm affections of a man with the strength, simplicity, and directness of an apostle of the living God."

Such was the senior laborer of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Every Christian will pray that those now in the field, and others whom God shall raise up, may "follow him even as he followed Christ." And none who have read these records, we are sure, can forbear approval of the sentiment so quaintly yet beautifully expressed in the following lines:

"I bless Thee, for the quiet rest thy servant taketh now,
I bless Thee, for his blessedness and for his crowned brow;
For every weary step he trod in faithful following Thee,
And for the good fight foughten well, and closed right valiantly."

GENERAL INDEX.

Amarapoora ..... Page 189
American and Foreign Bible Society 323, 388
American Baptist Board for Foreign Missions 296
American Board of Commissioners 31, 32, 36
Amherst 213, 234
Andover 17, 18
Arracan Mission 370
Ava, Death-prison at 184
  Proposed Visits to 134, 412
  Residence there 170
Baldwin, Dr., Letters to 55, 122, 134, 170, 207
Baptist General Convention 95
  Churches, Letter to 302
Blood-tracked March 197
Boardman, Rev. G., Death of 271
Bolles, Rev. Dr., Letters to 100, 162, 163, 270, 275, 303, 307
Boodhism 82, 88
"Burial of Judson," Verses on 432, 433
Burmah 33
  Attempts to Evangelize 74
  Description of 76
  Government of 79
  Schools of 79
  Emperor of, Visit to 139
  Present of a Bible to 141
Burman Preachers, Ordination of 249, 251
Burmese and English War 180
  Bible 300, 305, 447
  Dictionary 112, 388
  Language, Difficulty of acquiring 100
Carey, Marshman, and Ward 54, 111
Chase, Professor Ira, Letter to 169
Colgate, William, Letter to 328
Colman, Rev. James 118, 148
Cone, Rev. Dr., Letters to 311, 317
  Address by 364
Davis, Rev. Noah, Letter to 252
East India Company 47, 48, 69
Gaudama 87
Gillette, Rev. A. D., Letter to 419
Greek, Death of a 199
Grow, Rev. Mr., Letter to 273
Guion, Lady 438
Hall, Rev. Gordon 24, 30
Hasseltine, Mr., Letter to 38
  Mrs., Letters to 220, 225, 230
Hough, Rev. G. H. 106, 116
Hymn, Farewell 400
Inquirer, First 107
Iron Mall, Story of 143
Jeter, Rev. Dr., Address by 378
Judson, Adoniram, Birth of 10
  His Father 10
  At Plymouth 13
  Enters Providence College 13
  Imbibes Infidelity 15

Judson, Adoniram, opens School at Plymouth ..... Page 15
Publishes a Grammer, etc. 15
Leaves Home to Travel 16
His Infidelity Disturbed 17
Reads "Boston's Fourfold State" 18
Goes to Andover 18
Is Converted 19
Reads the "Star in the East" 21
Resolves to be a Missionary 22
Endeavors to Awaken Interest in Missions 27
Writes to London Missionary Society 28
Memorializes General Association 29
Commences to Preach 32
Sent to London 33
Captured on his Voyage 34
Released and goes to England 35
Returns to the United States 36
Appointed a Missionary 37
Marries Ann Hasseltine 38
Is Ordained 39
Embarks for Calcutta 42
Arrives in India 45
Harrassed by East India Company 50
Prosecutes Study on Baptism 51
Becomes a Baptist 53
Seeks a Field of Labor 58
Ordered to England 59
Attempts to go to the Isle of France 59
Obtains a Pass 62
Sails from Saugor 62
Arrives at Port Louis 63
Goes to Madras 65
Sails for Rangoon 66
Arrives in Burmah 68
Commences a Mission 91
Studies Burmese 92
Receives News of Organization for Missions 95
First Efforts at Translation 102
Sickness of, 1816 102
Visited by first Inquirer 107
Commences a Dictionary 112
Sails for Chittagong 113
Arrives at Masulipatam 114
At Madras 115
Returns to Rangoon 115
Builds a Zayat 122
Commences Public Teaching 124
Baptizes first Convert 127
Administers Lord's Supper in two Languages 127
Establishes a Burmese Prayer Meeting 131
Closes his Zayat 132
Determines to Visit Ava 134
Introduced at Court 140
Repulsed 143
Returns 146
Recommences his Labors 150
Finished Translation of Ephesians 153
Goes to Calcutta 157
Returns to Rangoon 159
Revisits Ava 170
Completes Translation of Burmese New Testament 174
Visits Rangoon 174
Embarks for Ava 175
Builds a House at Ava 176
Seized and taken to the Death-prison 187
Sick with Fever 196
Taken to Oung-pen-la 197
Sent to the Burmese Camp 202

Judson, Adoniram, Returned to Ava ..... Page 203
Is sent to Treat with the British 204
At Yandabo 206
Returns to Rangoon 208
Visits Tenasserim 212
Invited to join Embassy to Ava 215
Removes his Family to Amherst 216
Goes to Ava 218
Returns to Amherst 225
Buries his Child 230
Revises New Testament 235
Removes to Maulmain 237
Establishes Reading Zayat 239
Declines Doctor's Degree 244
Ordains first Burman Pastor 249
Revisits Rangoon 255
Goes to Prome 256
Returns to Rangoon 265
Declines Visiting America 270
Goes back to Maulmain 276
Visits Karens 277
Sick in the Jungle 277
Second and Third Visits to the Karens 283
Completes the Translation 305
Marries Mrs. Boardman 309
Visits Calcutta 316
Completes Revision of the Bible 316
Goes to Calcutta with his Family 333
Visits Isle of France 335
Returns to Maulmain 337
Commences Dictionary 338
Embarks for England 340
Loses his second Wife 348
Arrives in the United States 354
At Boston 355, 396
At Salem 360
At Providence 361
At New York 364, 388
At Hamilton 372
At Philadelphia 375, 385
At Washington 377
At Richmond 378
At Baltimore 384
At Brooklyn 391
Marries Miss Chubbuck 394
Embarks for Maulmain 400
Arrives in Burmah 403
Resumes his Dictionary Labors 404
Visits Rangoon 405
Suffers Loss by Fire 406
Proposes to Visit Ava 412
Is Hindered by Want of Funds 418
Last Sickness of 421
Embarks for Isle of France 425
Death of 428
Burial of 429
Services Commemorative of 431
Personal Appearance of 434
Social Characteristics of 435
Intellectual Qualities of 436
Piety of 437
Moral Courage of 440
His Preaching 445
His Translation of the Bible 448
Judson, Ann Hasseltine, Illness of 66, 84
Visits Madras 94
Teaches School 129
Visits England and America 164

Judson, Ann Hasseltine, returns to Rangoon....Page 174
At Ava 185
At Oung-pen-la 200
Death of 219
Letters to her Sisters 230
Judson, Henry, Death of 333
Judson, Roger Williams 108
Last Sickness 340
Judson, Sarah B., Death of 347
Burial of 349
Judson, Maria Eliza Butterworth 191, 280
Karens 280
London Missionary Society 28
Visit to 35
Malcom, Rev. Dr. 312
Letter to 308
Massachusetts, General Association of 29
Maulmain 237
Mills, Samuel J. 23, 29
Newell, Nathaniel, Richards, and Rice 25
Missionaries, Attainments of first 41
Embarkation of first 42
Moung Nau 125
Moung Shwa-gnong 132, 145, 155, 167
Newell, Mrs., Death of 63
Nott, Rev. Samuel 24, 353
Pagodas, Shway Dagon 122
Pagodas 87
Paul's Voyage 68
Peck, Rev. Dr., Letters to 340, 421
Plymouth 13
Prayer Meetings 132
Preaching in Zayats 124, 238, 241, 253
Price, Rev. Dr. 168, 183, 204
Printing commenced 106
Operations 254
Prome, Visit to 256
Labors at 257
Fruits of Mr. Judson's Labors 267
Providence College 9, 14
Pugan 138
Ranney, Mr., Account of Mr. Judson's last Days by 426
Rangoon, Description of 71
First Communion Service at 93
Perils of Mission 117, 132
Reprimand, Alleged 96
Rice, Rev. Luther, becomes a Baptist 51
Returns to United States 64
Letters to 104, 170
Romish Missions 144
Protestant and 319
Salem, Ordination at 40
Embarkation from 42
Visit to 360
Scriptures and Preaching 110, 318
Inquirers Searching 130
Principles of Translation 322
Sharp, Rev. Daniel, Letters to 166, 170, 173, 234
Torture of a Prisoner at Ava 186
Tracts 267, 269, 275, 288
Universalist, Remarks of 32
Vinton, Rev. J. H., Testimony to Mr. Judson's Eloquence 447
Wade, Rev. Dr. 175, 233, 238, 255, 263
Wayland, Rev. Dr., Address by 365
Williams College, Missionary Society at 23
Wheelock and Colman 118
Worcester, Letters to 55
Zayats 87, 122

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